KEY MAN CHALLENGES WITNESS

Soblen defense asks new trial, says U.S. hid vital evidence

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents

VOL. 14, NO. 3 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 30, 1961

By William A. Reuben

AT THE CONCLUSION of this reporter's first of the three-part series on the espionage trial of Dr. Robert Soblen (GUARDIAN Aug. 28, Sept. 4 and 11), official U.S. medical reports were cited showing that Jack Soble, the defendant's brother and the prosecution's chief witness, was psychotic and suffered from an incurable organic brain ailment which left him almost hopelessly insane.

The medical reports and other vital and even sensational new information not disclosed during Soblen's trial are now the basis for a three-part motion for a new trial, filed on Dr. Soblen's behalf on Oct. 9 by an eminent lawyer and legal scholar, Ephraim London. Argument on the motion before trial judge William B. Herlands ended Oct. 19.

THE CHARGES: The motion makes these major contentions:

SPECIAL THIS WEEK

We present in this issue, pages 7-10, one of the best in the long history of our Holiday Shopping Guides. Read it, send in your orders, and save it for later purchases. Note especially the Siqueiros greeting card—a rare event.

- Official government medical records existed showing that the main witness, Soble, was insane and despite the government's obligation to make the existence of these records known, the defense first learned of them after the trial ended. (The medical records were first brought to public attention in the GUARDIAN series written after the trial had concluded.)
- Persons in the biographical data unit of the Office of Strategic Services—who were alleged at the trial to have given information via a courier to Dr. Soblen for transmission to the Soviet Union during World War II, including a hint of work on the A-bomb—had no access to secret information of any kind.
- Dr. Hans E. Hirschfeld, a German emigre who worked as a part-time consultant for the OSS during World War II, and who had been charged by a prosecution witness, Mrs. Johanna Beker, with having given her top-secret information which she said she gave to Soblen, had on three occasions, in this country and in Germany, given sworn testimony repudiating every one of Mrs. Beker's charges and denying that he had ever met her. The FBI had brought her to Germany to confront Hirschfeld. He also gave an affidavit to the U.S. Mission in Bonn denying all charges.

(Continued on Page 4)

PLEASE TAKE OFF THAT BLINDFOLD, MR. PRESIDENT — THERE MUST BE ANOTHER WAY

In Chapel Hill to receive an honorary degree from the University of North Carolina Oct. 12, President Kennedy forecast a lifetime of continuing tensions for Americans. In Moscow a week later Premier Khrushchev was outlining a 20-year program of bounty for the Soviet people. Something's wrong somewhere, and it is respectfully suggested that our Mr. K. sit down and re-evaluate his prospect for mankind with their Mr. K.

THE IMPASSE IN THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

De Gaulle's balance sheet is a mess

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

TWENTY THOUSAND Algerians marched in Paris on the night of Oct. 17 in several parts of town in non-violent demonstrations that brought out 7,000 policemen, two companies of the CRS (the tough strike-breaking special cops) and several squads of motorized police. The police opened fire, killing, officially, two persons (unofficially over 20) and wounding an uncounted number.

The next day, protest petitions from factories, trade unions, left-wing parties, and from 40 Algerian deputies and senators preceded a second night of Algerian demonstrations in Paris. As the first several hundred of arrested Algerians were expelled from France, a right-wing deputy asked the government to "hit back fast and hard." He was promised the government would continue to do just that. This is the latest episode in the general picture of the deterioration of the Fifth Republic. The sickness is changing from chronic to acute.

On three fronts—the FLN (National Liberation Front), the OAS (Secret Army Organization) and the domestic scene, the government has completed what one deputy recently called "the balance sheet of failure."

THE FLN: The Liberation Front action in Paris Oct. 17 was its most ambitious show of strength in France since the war began seven years ago. It also marks a new method, and there was speculation whether it had been inspired by the FLN's new leader, Youssef Ben Khedda, known to be more militant and more to the left than his predecessor, Ferhat Abbas. At any rate, the week's non-violent demonstrations may well be the beginning of a new mass strategy in France, firmly enrolling Algerians who up to now have been on the fringe of political action. They also are a sign of growing Algerian self-confidence.

The government's reply—arresting, then deporting demonstrators by the

(Continued on Page 12)

GI'S WOULD FIND AN ENTIRE POPULACE THE ENEMY

U. S. is risking a 'second Korea' in Vietnam

Since this dispatch was written, South Vietnam President Ngo Dinh Diem has declared a state of emergency and held a series of talks with Gen Maxwell D. Taylor, head of a special U. S. mission. Taylor, who was to report to President Kennedy, said there should be no "assumption" that there will be a decision to send U. S. combat troops to South Vietnam.

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING

IF, AS WASHINGTON SAYS, the struggle against the Ngo regime in South Vietnam has become a "real war" in which U.S. troops may "have to take part," the American people had better halt and investigate quickly before they get involved in a Korean-type war against what would be almost the entire population of Vietnam. The conflict stems directly from President Ngo Dinh Diem's attempt to subdue the Vietnamese people both for his own power and profit and to serve Washington's interest in having a war base.

Averell Harriman asserts that North Vietnam is intervening in the South. Everyone in North Vietnam, from President Ho Chi Minh down, denies this, and Harriman gives no proof. Proof exists, however, that South Vietnam is intervening in the North by land, sea and air, all under U.S. military advisers.

Washington created the trouble by installing its man, Ngo, in the dying puppet French regime of Bao Dai in 1954, financing Ngo's rise to power, preventing the nationwide elections which the Geneva Agreement had set for 1956 to reunite all Vietnam, and then financing South Vietnam as a separate state. Thousands of men from the South were thus caught in the North, where they went in 1954 for the demobilization decreed at Geneva; they are still there. They can't get back or even communicate with their families because of the blockade maintained by Ngo.

'NO EXPEDITION': It would be under-

(Continued on Page 14)

In this issue

BOMBS AND MANKIND
Report to Readers .....p. 2
NEW YORK ELECTION
A sea of dullness ......p. 3
SMUT AND THE SENATE
Censorship in America..p. 5
ZILLIACUS ON DEMOCRACY
Eastern and Western ..p. 6
THE CUBAN STORY
Herbert Matthews' book p. 13
THE UN-AMERICANS
Donner's findings....p. 16

'Live and help live'

GLENCOE, ILL.

The reasons advanced by the Soviet Union for the resumption of nuclear testing ring as false as did our original explanation of the U-2 flights. One cannot straddle this issue. One is either for or against nuclear testing. As one of our local ministers remarked recently, the statement "Live and Let Live" should read "Live and Help Live." All diplomacy should be guided by this philosophy. **M. A.**

Cause and effect

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Of course, all of us should be appalled that any nation would resume nuclear tests menacing mankind. But the attitude manifested by some of the Mailbag writers appears thus: A man has stolen food. Forget that he has been unemployed for months and has a family to care for. The man is a criminal, so let us forget the factors which have conspired to make him one.

While we should urge the U.S.S.R. to cease nuclear tests, we should also urge that the U.S. cease goading the U.S.S.R. into testing and—perhaps—war.

Michael J. Hallberg

For a peace pact

NEW YORK, N.Y.

It all boils down to who will use nuclear weapons first. Therefore, before we enter long drawn-out negotiations for disarmament and banning tests, I propose that President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev meet and sign an agreement at once that neither will be the first to use nuclear weapons. If this is an accomplished fact, there is very small likelihood that there will be war.

This is the road to world peace. **H. K.**

Pauling challenged

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

In the October issue of **Frontier** magazine, starting on the front cover under banner headlines, is an article by Dr. Linus Pauling, "The Danger of Nuclear Holocaust." My main point of difference with Dr. Pauling is his statement that resumption of testing by the Soviet Union increases the danger of nuclear war. This is precisely the opposite of what it intended to do, precisely the opposite of what it could do, and most definitely the opposite of what it has done.

I shall cite but one example of how the Soviet resumption of testing has had the effect they intended it to:

Shortly prior to Soviet resumption of testing, Gen. Lucius Clay was called back into service as special ambassador to West Germany. Gen. Clay felt called upon to proclaim that if he had been in Berlin when the Russians built "their Chinese Wall," he would have gone in there with tanks and American boys and ripped it up as they built it, thereby, of course, plunging us into a nuclear holocaust.

Shortly after Soviet resumption of testing, Gen. Clay felt called upon to proclaim to the West Germans that they were just going to have to face up to the reality and immutable existence of a sovereign East German state, the German Democratic Republic, and learn to live with it.

Despite my differences with Dr. Pauling, I consider his article of tremendous value. I also consider its being published by **Frontier** in so dramatic a fashion a direct fruit of the Soviet Union's courageous resumption of testing. **Name Withheld**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 9 (AP)—Discrimination is inherent in the fluid social system which characterizes the American way of life, a University of Chicago sociologist said yesterday, Philip M. Hauser, the sociologist, said victims of discrimination ultimately hoist themselves up the economic and social scale until they attain the power to do the discriminating themselves. "This is the way democracy works," he said in a lecture at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore.

—St. Louis **Post Dispatch**, Oct. 9

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: C. S., Rolla, Mo.

Soviet duty?

LAKE GROVE, L.I.

The number of lefts taking a stand against the Soviet resumption of nuclear bomb tests is astounding. It indicates how many people are confused on this issue.

Because of the betrayal of the anti-fascist cause by American capitalism after the defeat of Hitler, German militarism, which twice within 30 years bathed Europe in blood, has risen again as a gigantic and ugly monster. Who is fool enough to believe our politicians when they assure us that the same generals who only yesteryear commanded and directed the genocidal acts of Hitler's hordes have since then turned into angelic defenders of human freedom. We all know better.

If the Soviets were to disregard this obvious historic fact, socialist freedom in their land, and in the world, would be in dire jeopardy. Since they cannot disregard it, they prepare for this conflict. That is their right. It is their duty.

Max Bedacht

By Bill Levenson

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was flattered that you chose to reprint my parody on Christopher Marlowe—"Sheltered Love"—in your issue of Oct 16. I'm sorry only that you neglected to add my name as the author.

Poets are unheard voices in our land. Rarely do we find an audience. It's a happy occasion, then, to "make the scene"—particularly in the GUARDIAN and on the basic theme of the Bomb. A credit line would encourage us to keep trying. **Bill Levenson**

Review protested

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Edmund Weil's review of **The Informed Heart** by Bruno Bettelheim seems most unfair. Weil apparently thinks that because Bettelheim deals with his experiences in a Nazi concentration camp, the book should have been an analysis of fascism. But that clearly was not the book that Bettelheim set out to write. He was using his experiences in Germany and the U.S. to obtain lessons as to how an individual survives with integrity in contemporary "mass-society." The lessons the book gives are important now, and for the people who live in the Soviet Union as well as for the people who live in this country.

Clark Foreman

Dyad in the London Daily Worker

"And after 25 years the knocker is yours."

Conscience fund

TUCSON, ARIZ.

On behalf of our committee, I want to thank GUARDIAN readers who sent contributions for our legal action against Arizona's so-called "loyalty oath." Your contributions were part of the $2,100 received by the committee, an amount sufficient to carry the case through the Arizona Supreme Court.

The committee is now establishing a Conscience Fund to aid victims of the oath requirement. Three Tucson teachers are now teaching without pay because they have not signed the disclaimer oath. One other public employe lost her job, and has not found other work.

Won't you send a contribution to Richard Gorby, Treasurer, Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employes, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Ariz.?

Vernon C. Elfbrandt

Some opinions

NEW YORK, N.Y.

We have urged upon President Kennedy the following opinions:

"We should negotiate on Berlin from the strength of freedom, of patience and of increasing good will."—Congressman Miller.

"I have seen very few situations where doing nothing but standing firm is the best thing to do." — Congressman Kastenmeier.

"I urge that the Berlin situation be regarded not only as a crisis but as an opportunity to increase national security by negotiating a zone of disengagement and disarmament in Central Europe." — Congressman Ryan.

"We have been 'standing firm' so long now with fingers frozen on nuclear triggers that our national nerves are frayed and jagged. And they well might be, for in the past no great nation that mobilized ever demobilized until after a war."—Congressman Kowalski.

Alex E. D. Munsell
Marion D. Munsell

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

DOG-TAGS FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN were the newest symbol of U.S. war madness last week. In New York, school officials pointed with pride to the fact that the tags would withstand a heat that would melt flesh and bones, but many parents were mailing them back in protest. In Tacoma, Wash., a group of parents calling themselves Cold War Mothers circulated petitions protesting tag distribution to school children there. Their theme: "The only real security for our children is peace."

Around the country the cry for peace swelled. In Minneapolis the United Church Women, a department of the National Council of Churches, representing 10,000,000 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox women, adopted a five-point program for world peace. In Chicago James P. Warburg, author and former banker, told a peace conference of some 15 organizations that present U.S. policy "will lead to war, or defeat for the cause of freedom without war." Later he told the **City Club of Chicago** that the U.S. economy ". . . is endangered not so much by our huge military expenditures in themselves as by the fact that we have no plan for ending those expenditures without running into a major depression. We are rapidly acquiring a vested interest in not making peace."

—From the National Guardian, Oct. 31, 1951

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, U.S., U.S. possessions, $5 a year; Canada and Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable GUARDIAN London Bureau, 108 Lower - Ham Rd., Kingston, Surrey, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

JAMES ARONSON, *Editor* — CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Tabitha Petran, Edward T. Zusi, Robert Joyce, (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (Havana), Gordon Schaffer (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Phyllis Rosner (Rome), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

Vol. 14, No. 3 401 October 30, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

The time is now!

AUTUMN 1961 MIGHT HAVE BEEN THE MOMENT in history when the world power bloc led by the United States heeded the voices of the non-aligned nations and the majority of the world's peoples and joined the Soviet Union in a program of total world disarmament, thus heading off further nuclear tests each of which makes life unlivable for a frightfully enlarging number of generations born and still unborn.

Rather, Autumn 1961 is now the season in which the world's leading socialist nation exploded a nuclear force of incredible magnitude capable of incinerating any metropolis in the capitalist world; thus inviting the world's capitalist nations to explode further incredible bombs of equal or greater magnitude, capable of incinerating any collective society in eastern Europe.

And so on, up the the mad spiral of terror sent unhalted into frightful realms by a corrupted world science, until total megadeaths do us part.

YET, AUTUMN 1961 COULD STILL BE THE MOMENT in history in which the world's leading force for disarmament, coexistence and peaceful competition of systems for a better world, recognizing the immense strength these non-weapons add to the struggle for human betterment, abandoned the futile competition in potential megadeaths and, with the world multitude of hands seeking to join in the work, returned to the task of ending forever the nuclear terror contest and proceeding to build a world of progress.

FOR, OBJECTIVELY, THE CONSCIENCE of the world still recognizes the grim truth set forth in the Stockholm Peace Appeal of 1950, signed by millions of the world's peoples, that the atom weapon is "an arm of terror and mass extermination of populations," and should be banned from man's arsenal forever.

Yet growing millions now acknowledge a more basic truth: that a world geared for war rather than peace and world advancement, with or without the nuclear weapon, blocks the path to human betterment which new millions throughout the new world, emerging from colonialism and economic domination, have made their primary objective.

THIS IS DRAMATICALLY DEMONSTRATED by the refusal of the Asian-African group at the United Nations to join in a move to give priority to an eight-power resolution backed by one neutral, Sweden, dealing solely with the Soviet Union's projected 50-megaton test, while two of the bellwether non-aligned nations, India and Ghana, joined in a revised Indian resolution urging the cessation of tests "pending the conclusion of necessary internationally binding agreements in regard to tests or general and complete disarmament."

That the neutral and non-aligned nations can maintain their entity as the balance between East and West—despite mounting tension resulting alike from Western intransigence and the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests—is a warrant both of the common sense of the wholesale approach to world armaments and the wide support it has gathered among the peoples of the world.

Pressure for this approach has made no headway in the U.S., where there is no peace party or movement of sizable proportion. Yet any estimate of U.S. opinion must conclude that it at least opposes further testing, by any nation, although it has been prevented by the fear alarm sounded by the war elements from considering the question of total disarmament.

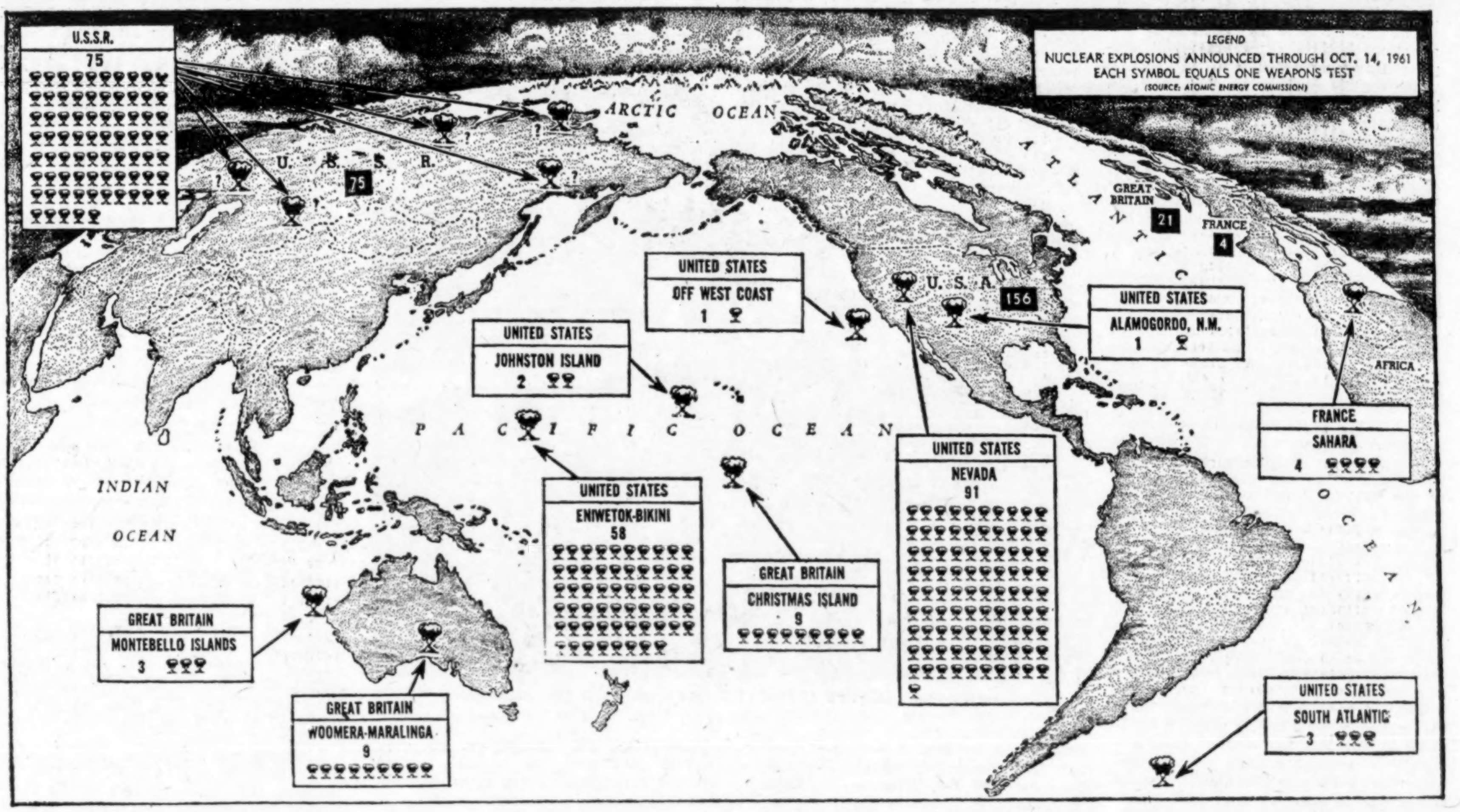
YET AMERICANS ARE SPEAKING OUT. Corliss Lamont, who with his wife sent a message to President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev in January, 1958, urging the test moratorium, wired Khrushchev on Oct. 19 that the planned test of a 50-megaton bomb was "bound to bring further loss of good will throughout the world toward your great country and socialism in general." The Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups sent messages to Kennedy and Khrushchev on Oct. 23 asserting that the existence of a 50-megaton bomb "shatters once and for all the illusion that survival in a theremonuclear war is possible," and urging them to "meet and hurdle the barrier of cold war tensions and cumulative international crises which have kept the nations of the world from agreement to end all bomb tests by all nations with a commitment to full and general disarmament."

In its text the statement notes that "there are at present two nations who together have the power to determine whether life shall continue on this planet."

The wires are open: the heads of both nations should hear from you.

—THE GUARDIAN

A graphic barometer of world fallout peril as the atomic testing goes on and on



Los Angeles Times map

As of Oct. 15, the atomic powers had exploded more than 250 nuclear bombs with a total yield of 200 megatons (a megaton is a million tons). Dr. Linus Pauling estimates that for every 200 megatons of atmospheric explosions, fallout will cause 140,000 persons across the world to die of leukemia, bone cancer and other diseases. In succeeding generations, 160,000 children will be born mentally or physically defective. Carbon 14, which has a half-life of 6,000 years, will cause two million deaths over a few thousand years. Dr. Pauling's estimates rise proportionately with the megatonnage of explosion.

THE ISSUES GOT HOPELESSLY LOST

New York mayoralty contest drowns in a sea of dullness

By Joanne Grant

ABOUT TWO MILLION of 3,511,240 registered New Yorkers are expected to go to the polls Nov. 7 to cast ballots for one of six mayoral candidates representing ten political parties. The candidates and parties are:

Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Democratic, Liberal and Brotherhood.

Louis J. Lefkowitz, Republican, Civic Action and Non-Partisan.

Lawrence E. Gerosa, Citizens.

Vito P. Battista, United Taxpayers.

Richard Garza, Socialist Workers.

Eric Hass, Socialist Labor.

The anticipated light vote in a record registration year is the fault of the major candidates. The closest they have come to introducing an "issue" into the flood of campaign oratory has been the charges of unethical (sometimes called immoral) fund-raising. The question of who raises funds and how for the major candidates received more press attention than any other subject. Even Republican Sen. Jacob Javits, in New York to campaign for Lefkowitz, commented at a press conference Oct. 17 that the mayoral campaign had bogged down in "peripheral issues."

THE GREAT DEBATE: Typical of the campaign was the "great TV debate" between Lefkowitz and Wagner. The New York **Herald Tribune** said of the debate: "During the hour both principals distorted the facts, gave us a number of half-truths, and just plain dodged at times."

The general level of the campaign may be discerned from the following samples. The **Herald Tribune** Oct. 18 quoted the Mayor as having promised to send "young hoodlums, punks and juvenile delinquents" to camps. He termed Lefkowitz the "hand-picked candidate" of Republican county leaders. Lefkowitz spoke of "welfare chiselers" and the "boys in Albany," and Battista promised to "end the free ride" of college students attending tuition-free city colleges.

The biggest sensation of the campaign was a fund-raising luncheon at a Brooklyn restaurant at which 43 real estate men and contractors pledged $25,000 to the Wagner campaign in the Mayor's presence and with city officials making the pitch. Abraham N. Lindenbaum, who called the roll at the luncheon, subsequently resigned from the City Planning Commission, the Mayor refused to accept the money and the City's Board of Ethics found it "offensive to ethical standards" but not a violation of the City's Code of Ethics.

ON PAPER: Though discussion of them has been scant, both major candidates do have programs on paper. The Wagner program, which blames the city's ills on the Republican State administration, reinforces the impression that the Mayor is running against Republican Gov. Nelson Rockefeller. The program asks more state funds for education and city transportation, more stringent laws for slum and rent control, and funds for the city through legalization of off-track betting.

The Lefkowitz program seeks to restore the City's fiscal integrity with long-range planning, repair the schools and clean up the school administration, improve traffic control, health, recreation and housing, and eliminate welfare "chiselers."

Lefkowitz was endorsed by the **Times** (which had favored Wagner in the Democratic primary) in an editorial Oct. 19 which said: "Lefkowitz offers the prospect of something better than Wagner, maybe much better—a possibility of great improvement against the near-certainty of continued mediocrity." On Oct. 20 the **Times** announced its support for Democrats Abraham Beame for Controller and Paul Screvane for City Council President. Reiterating its unenthusiastic support of Lefkowitz the **Times** said: "If Mr. Lefkowitz were, by chance, elected he would have in Mr. Beame a very competent and helpful adviser despite the difference in political party."

THE SWP's MAN: Lefkowitz has also been endorsed by the Patrolmen's Benevolent Assn. and by members of the administration of former Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia. Mrs. LaGuardia announced her support for him Oct. 16. Lefkowitz campaign posters bear a photograph of LaGuardia, New York's best-known reform mayor, and the slogan: "Remember how great clean government used to be? It's yours again when you elect Lefkowitz, Fino and Gilhooley."

Minor parties have had meager access to major news media. On an NBC television program Oct. 15 the Socialist Workers Party's Garza said he would "call for a full discussion of banning nuclear tests" because New York City is a prime target. He criticized the city police for protecting property values rather than people and called for the administering of public schools by parent-teacher groups and teachers unions. Also on the SWP ticket are Fred Halstead for Controller, Sylvia Weinstein for City Council President, and Clarence Franklin for Manhattan Borough President.

SLP CANDIDATE: Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party said that his campaign was for political education. He seeks an end to capitalism in the U.S. followed by "socialist reconstruction." Other SLP candidates are, John Emanuel for Council President and Stephen Emery for Controller.

SWP and SLP will share the ninth line on voting machines. In a switch from previous procedure which placed parties on the machine in the order in which they received nominating petitions, the Board of Elections decided this year to place the ten parties according to the number of signatures on the petitions. The SWP and SLP turned in the lowest number. There are only nine lines on voting machines.

GEROSA AND BATTISTA: City Controller Gerosa was rejected as a running mate by Wagner as "a man of limited ability and less knowledge on the one hand, and with no limit, on the other, to his ambition." He is running on an economy program. He has promised a three per cent saving in the city's expense budget by eliminating duplication, padding and waste.

The candidacy of Vito Battista was in doubt until Oct. 19. On that date the State Court of Appeals ruled him back on the ballot by rejecting a Board of Elections ruling which had removed him because his nominating petitions had not been notarized, as required by Election Law. Battista says that he adheres to the "Goldwater philosophy" and that "20 years of liberalism has destroyed our town."

REFORM AND BROTHERHOOD: One question the campaign has raised is: What happened to the reform movement? Reformers who backed Wagner in his primary fight for the Democratic nomination have been largely inactive in the election campaign. On Oct. 5 the **Times** reported that reformers may dissolve their New York Committee for Democratic Voters as a result of a study it is now making to determine if its task of "democratization" of the party has been achieved.

The one aspect of the election which may prove significant is the formation of the Brotherhood party by the New York Central Labor Council, representing one million trade unionists. It is the first labor party to be formed since the liquidation of the American Labor Party. It has announced its intention to remain permanently on the political scene and it could be the forerunner of a national labor party.

The Soblen story

(Continued from Page 1)

The defense evidence added up to the assertion that the prosecution had suppressed and concealed vital information which could have been used at the trial, had its existence been known, "to prove defendant's innocence."

KEY WITNESSES: At Dr. Soblen's month-long trial in the New York court of Federal Judge Herlands, the prosecution produced only two witnesses who gave incriminating evidence against the defendant. These were his younger brother, Jack Soble, and Mrs. Beker, a German-born woman who had worked for Dr. Soblen during World War II as a typist.

The Aug. 28 GUARDIAN article referred to government medical records disclosing that psychiatrists at the U.S. Hospital for Federal Prisoners at Springfield, Mo., had diagnosed Soble as suffering from a brain ailment that made it impossible for him 80% of the time to distinguish between illusion and reality. Testimony about the records was given at the 1958 trial of Harvard professor Mark Zborowski on charges of perjury for testifying that he did not know Jack Soble. Zborowski's conviction was reversed and he is awaiting retrial.

FACTS CONCEALED: In his memorandum of law supporting the new-trial motion, London stated:

"As the government was aware at the time defendant was tried, Jack Soble's true mental condition was such that without proper psychiatric background his testimony could not be properly evaluated by the jury and was, in fact, unworthy of credence. The government had in its possession psychiatric reports and testimony showing that Jack Soble was suffering from a psychotic condition and a progressive organic brain disease and that he was suffering from a memory difficulty as a result of which he might have been filling in gaps in his memory with false information that he believed to be true. . . .

"Although the government was in possession of the information outlined, it did not advise the court, the jury or the defense of any of it. The defense knew or elicited on cross-examination certain facts relating to Soble's mental state, namely that he had attempted suicide in 1958, had been under observation at Bellevue in 1957, had had a breakdown in 1957 and underwent two series of electro-shock treatments in 1958 and 1959. The defendant and the jury were thus informed that Soble may, at one time, have suffered from mental illness, but the full facts relating to his insanity were withheld. The jury was not sufficiently informed to enable it to give proper weight or consideration to Soble's testimony, and the defendant was unable, because of the evidence withheld, to impugn that testimony.

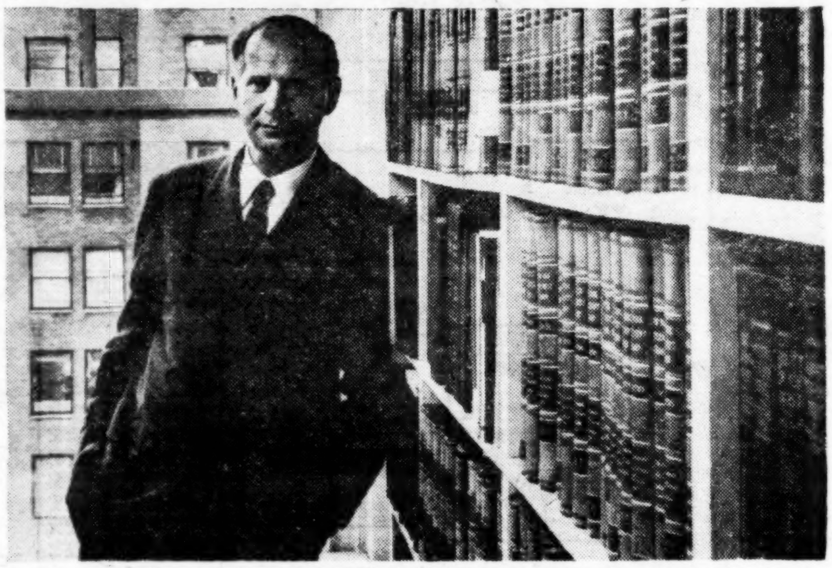
"It is a settled principle of law . . . that the government furnish the defendant with substantial exculpatory evidence. The failure to notify a defendant of the existence of evidence that would tend to show his innocence is tantamount to the suppression of evidence, and requires the reversal of a conviction."

RULING CITED: Among the cases cited by London to buttress his argument was the Court of Appeals ruling in the Zborowski case, the only other trial in which Jack Soble testified. Conviction in that trial was reversed because the prosecution had wtihheld from the defense FBI reports relating to Soble. The portions of the appellate ruling in that case cited by London as affecting the Soblen case were:

"The requirement that the government must prove its case beyond a reasonable doubt means, at the very least, that the government itself should not, by any failure to disclose relevant evidence, prevent the defendant from producing evidence which might create the reasonable doubt. Our standards of fair play in Federal criminal proceedings require that the government should present its evidence in its true colors and that it should never be a party to withholding any evidence which materially bears on the credibility of a witness it places on the stand."

The portions of the new-trial motion dealing with Hirschfeld and Mrs. Beker resulted from concern over the case and intervention by two eminent university professors who had been wartime OSS officials. They are H. Stuart Hughes, professor of history at Harvard, and Dr. Herbert Marcuse, professor of politics and philosophy at Brandeis.

PRESS ACCOUNT: Both had read the N.Y. Times accounts of the trial testimony given by Mrs. Beker that Hirschfeld had given her secret information from the OSS. Summing up Mrs. Beker's testimony the **Times** reported:



EPHRAIM LONDON JOINS THE DEFENSE FOR DR. SOBLEN
There was old evidence concealed, new evidence revealed

"'He said that he gained knowledge that the U.S. Government was working on some important military program and that this would affect the end of the war considerably,' Mrs. Beker testified. Later, she continued, he emphasized 'progress in this secret project'."

"Government spokesmen," the **Times** story added, "declined to identify Dr. Hirschfeld further."

Outside the court Hughes said he and Marcuse had talked about the case at great length after reading what they knew to be false references to the OSS and the two German emigres, the late Horst Baerensprung and Hirschfeld. After listening to their discussions, Mrs. Marcuse finally said: "If you feel so strongly about this, why don't you do something." As a result, both professors wrote to Judge Herlands.

MARCUSE LETTERS: Marcuse, 63-year-old German-born author of the books **Eros and Civilization, Reason and Revolution, Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis,** and a former official of the Intelligence Research Section of the State Department, began his letter:

"My conscience compels me to submit to Your Honor the following information."

Marcuse said he gathered from the **Times'** story that the connection between Dr. Soblen and the two German refugees was an important fact at the trial. For that reason, said Marcuse, he wanted to state that he had personally known both men as prominent Social Democrats, and knew both to be intensely anti-communist. Marcuse wrote that he had known Hirschfeld when he had held an important position in the government of the Weimar Republic, and knew that at the present he occupied a responsible post in the government of West Germany.

Moreover, Marcuse wrote, he knew from his own wartime experiences in the OSS that the biographical data section, where Hirschfeld was a part-time consultant, "had no clearance for confidential material."

FAMILY OF LAWYERS: Hughes, who had been a lieutenant-colonel in the OSS during World War II, wrote to the judge "as a citizen much concerned over the case of Robert Soblen."

"While I am not a lawyer myself," he wrote, "I grew up in a family of lawyers (my grandfather was Chief Justice Hughes) and as a professor of history, I am deeply interested in matters of justice and human rights."

Stating that Hirschfeld and the late Baerensprung "were not in a highly confidential branch of the organization," Hughes offered these additional comments about the wartime operation of the OSS:

"It was not brought out at the trial in any way that the OSS was a very large and very miscellaneous organization, perhaps more than one-half of whose responsible employees knew no secrets that would be of value to the enemy. For example, even in my own responsible position, I knew nothing of the development of new weapons."

Hughes said that, so far as he could gather, the prosecution had failed to present two essential pieces of information:

(1) No one in the OSS who had worked directly with Baerensprung or Hirschfeld had been called to testify as to the nature of their work as consultants in the biographical data section of the OSS. Hughes noted that the only testimony on this point, that given by Otto Charles Doering Jr., wartime assistant director of OSS, who had briefly described, in general terms, the "classified" nature of the OSS's wartime work, "was so general as to be very misleading and . . . clearly implied that all OSS officers possessed important secret information."

(2) Apparently no effort had been made to obtain testimony from Hirschfeld himself, which puzzled Hughes since, as a prominent public figure of West Germany and an associate of Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin, there ought not to have been any trouble locating him.

INFORMATION LATE: Since the case went to the jury a few days after Mrs. Beker completed her testimony, the information volunteered by the two professors did not reach the court until the trial had been concluded. Hence, even though the information was referred to in court on August 7, when Dr. Soblen was sentenced, Judge Herlands, in sentencing Soblen to life in prison, said he could not take it into account in imposing sentence.

Ten days later, on August 17, Marcuse forwarded to Dr. Soblen's attorneys a communication that had come into his possession as a result of his name having been mentioned in newspaper accounts of the sentencing proceedings.

Addressed "To the Government of the United States of America," it was a copy of an affidavit which had been delivered to the U.S. Mission to Berlin in 1958, sworn to and executed by Dr. Hans E. Hirschfeld.

GERMAN INTERVIEW: The story told by Hirschfeld—no part of which had ever been hinted to the defense before—was this:

In October, 1957, a colleague told him that two American journalists wished to meet him and discuss "various groups and individuals in America—German political immigrants in France and the U.S."

Hirschfeld consented to the interview and in his affidavit described the circumstances under which he discovered that he himself was a suspect:

"Finally, it was asked whether my friends and I have ever worked for Soviet authorities while we were in New York, or whether we have provided them with material. I promptly denied this . . . As a result of my questions, it turned out that the gentlemen were FBI officials."

Hirschfeld's communication said he subsequently learned that the accusations stemmed from Mrs. Beker, who "claimed having met me regularly in New York and having received material from me."

Hirschféld said that he learned in 1958 through friends in the U.S. that several German emigre wartime residents in New York had been accused of working for Russian agents, but that "with the exception of myself, all the persons mentioned are now deceased."

CONFRONTATION: Several months after his initial interview with the FBI agents, Hirschfeld said: ". . . this female has been taken from the United States to Germany and I have been confronted with her. I stated immediately that I had never before either seen nor met this female. A few questions which I asked her she answered incorrectly . . ."

Hirschfeld said the seriousness of the accusations made him extremely excited, but the FBI officials told him to forget the whole thing. Hirschfeld said he had no such intention. His affidavit closed with the demand that the U.S. State Department give him "the opportunity of clearing up this whole matter as soon as possible."

A second communication from Hirschfeld written on July 14, 1961, said that in October, 1959, two members of the U.S. Justice Department, a "Mr. Victor Woerheide and a Mr. Frank," came to Germany and interviewed him every day for several weeks. These interviews were summed up in and culminated by the preparation of a 50-page record. Hirschfeld was asked whether he would be willing to come to the U.S. and repeat in sworn testimony what he had told the Justice Department officials. He agreed to this and in February, 1960, came to the U.S. for this purpose. Of this he wrote:

"I was brought in contact with the FBI and the District Attorney people. Three FBI agents grilled me three weeks—showing me pictures of people; asking innumerable questions about the people I know, had known or had met, etc. I was again confronted with this female, who stuck to her story and implored me like a missionary to confess my sins and to return to the right road. Finally I was asked to testify and to be cross-examined under oath before a jury. This was done on two occasions in February, 1960, in New York City."

'UNHAPPY AFFAIR': Hirschfeld found it disturbing that a year and a half later, at the Soblen trial, "Mrs. Beker's invented tale has been told without any mention of the fact that I delivered testimony under oath to the contrary."

His main reason for writing, Hirschfeld said, was to see what might be done "in this unhappy affair of spy and witch hunting. I don't know why this female or others picked my name—I only know I never did do what she claimed and claimed. I have never met her before."

The information contained in Hirschfeld's communications and the two professors' letters provided the factual basis for this phase of the defense new-trial motion. To this was added sworn affidavits from Soblen's trial lawyers, Joseph Brill and Jacob W. Friedman, his appeal lawyer London, and from the defendant. All stated that:

- The testimony of Mrs. Beker relating to Hirschfeld was the only evidence in the case touching upon national defense secrets.
- Prior to Mrs. Beker's appearance as a government witness July 6 and 7—one week before the trial ended and eight months after the indictment against Dr. Soblen was handed down—the defense had never been given any intima-

(Continued on Page 5)

THE TARGETS: SEX, CRIME AND 'COMMUNIST PLOTS'

The censors are riding again in Congress

By Lawrence Emery

CONGRESSIONAL guardians of other people's morals are on a rampage. Two hearings concerned with limiting what the public might legally hear, see and read are in progress. **Variety**, trade journal of the entertainment industry, notes that "a new surge of pro-censorship advocacy is apparently shaping up in the U.S."

One of the hearings is being conducted by a Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee under chairmanship of Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) and is attempting to show a direct causal relationship between violence and sex on TV and in the movies and youthful criminality. The other is under auspices of a Post ffice Subcommittee headed by Rep. Kathryn E. Granahan (D-Pa.) and is attempting to show that the distribution of obscene material in this country, including motion pictures from France and Italy, is part of an international communist plot to "undermine the moral fiber of the nation."

SOME BILLS: While neither probe has captured many headlines yet, the renewed emphasis on repression has inspired a couple of bizarre bills in Congress. Rep. Harris McDowell (D-Del.) proposed to add this to the U.S. Criminal Code: "Whoever broadcasts, by means of radio communications, any matter a predominant characteristic of which is the undue exploitation of crime, horror, or violence shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years, or both." The same penalties would apply to anyone overplaying "sex" or uttering "obscene, indecent, or profane language" on the airwaves. The House passed a bill for the District of Columbia which would penalize anyone who published or offered for sale any printed material "devoted mainly to the publication of scandal, whoring, lechery, assignations, intrigues between men and women, and immoral conduct of persons." Under this even **Romeo and Juliet** might be banned.

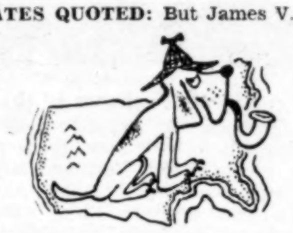
The Senate recently adopted unanimously a bill drafted by Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.) and co-sponsored by 23 other Senators creating a Commission on Noxious and Obscene Materials, including TV programs and motion pictures. **Variety** has warned that it could be "the forerunner of a Federal censorship of the arts."

CONTRARY VIEW: Dodd during his public hearings announced his belief that crime and violence on TV and in the movies have a "contributing causal relationship" to juvenile delinquency. But Donald E. J. MacNamara, dean of the New York Institute of Criminology and a professor at New York University and one of the country's leading authorities in the field, wrote Dodd that "while many programs and scripts are admittedly not educational, elevating or even entertaining," there is no adequate research to indicate that such programs turn their viewers into criminals. He added:

"Should your committee accept as fact the testimony that crime, sex and violence in moving pictures and television shows lead directly to the commission of immoral, delinquent, criminal acts by the viewers, . . . you would have no alternative but to introduce legislation designed to censor or control the content of programs and films. And should such legislation be enacted and enforced (a virtually impossible job), you would find in a few years that there would still be virtually the same amount, or even a little more, of the very same types of delinquency and criminal acts which the legislation was designed to eliminate or reduce."

LeRoy Collins, president of the Natl. Assn. of Broadcasters, told the Dodd subcommittee that "the weight of sociological opinion does not justify a conclusion supporting a causal relationship" between TV crime and violence and "criminal tendencies." He added that in a democratic country "improvement of broadcasting is going to have to come through the resources and efforts of the broadcasting profession itself and not through governmental dictation."

INMATES QUOTED: But James V. Bennett, director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, testified that exposure to TV violence "has a deleterious emotional impact on youth and creates the risk of delinquent behavior." He added that at two Federal youth institutions, about one-fourth of the inmates felt that such programs "were in some way responsible for their conflict with the law."



The Dodd hearings got so little attention in the press that **Variety** wrote early in August: "Congress might as well be investigating the weather as television programming . . . The Dodd hearings . . . which concerned sex, high adventure and violence in TV programming, can be written off as a dud. Call it, in fact, the Dodd dud. For a man who studied drama at Yale (and roomed with Van Heflin), Sen. Thomas J. Dodd directed a floperoo. . . . The Senators did, however, add to the entertainment of teen-aged Senate pages. The boys gave up cokes during their coke breaks. They rushed over to the Dodd hearings to catch the screening of some of the TV excerpts of what it is horrible for young people to watch."

In September the Dodd subcommittee went underground, as **Variety** put it, and has held closed-door secret hearings since. The journal speculated that it must be "on the scent of some very incendiary matter" and wondered "just what exactly could the subcommittee have latched onto of such a hot nature?" No one will know till it surfaces again.

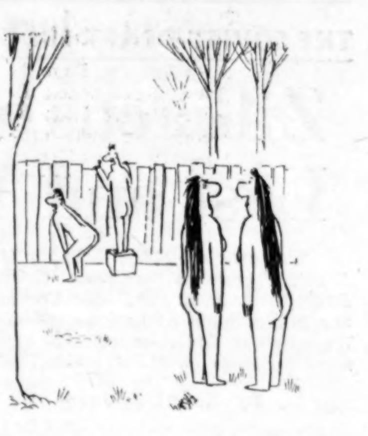
THE PLOT: Rep. Granahan, whom **Variety** calls "Capitol Hill's leading lady smuthunter," kept her subcommittee's hot stuff in the open. She apparently got onto the Red plot angle of obscenity in May, 1959, when Dr. Clyde Taylor, public affairs secretary for the Natl. Assn. of Evangelicals, testified that there were signs that the communists might be distributing obscene literature in a deliberate effort "to morally sabotage American youth."

A year later she called as a witness Charles H. Keating Jr. of Cincinnati, who heads an organization called Citizens for Decent Literature. To prepare for his appearance he sent an "urgent memorandum" to groups around the country asking them to purchase obscene magazines at their local newsstands and send them to him along with a covering letter that would "describe the depraved nature of your community newsstands, i.e., how prevalent, where, etc." The memo ended:

"Think of the effect! Here's a great opportunity! Don't let me down. ACT NOW!! PLEASE!! PLEASE!! PLEASE!! You send the goods to me—and I'll tell the CONGRESS for you."

'HORRIBLE' MOVIE: By August Rep. Granahan indicated that her subcommittee this fall will investigate the importation of "lewd" and "filthy" films France and Italy destined for regular theatrical exhibition in this country. She concentrated on the film **Les Liaisons Dangereuses** for special condemnation: "One more horrible example in a long line of four movies — **Liaisons** — may be freed to work its insidious propaganda of immorality on the American motion picture public. It is unfortunate—but not unexpected—that the country where this thing (sic) was produced has lifted its export ban. Social, cultural and moral standards there differ from ours; in fact, this difference probably is one of the greatest impediments to the efforts of statesmen to maintain a strong and unified front against international communism through NATO and other treaty ties."

Variety reported on Sept 6: "A staffer working on the upcoming investigation opined it wasn't beyond the bounds of credibility that the Kremlin could be masterminding an effort to undermine our moral structure via promotion of imports of dubious foreign pix. He emphasized this topic was not presently planned for actual hearings, but that the subcommittee investigators will seek evidence of any such subversive campaign when they go to New York this fall for a look at U.S. Customs operations there.



Vie Nuove, Rome

"A girl in a sweater is going by . . ."

SOME CONJECTURE: Two weeks later **Variety** commented "that students of the perennial pro-and-anti war over film censorship are wondering who may be behind Mrs. Granahan's latest campaign. It is doubted that she has the necessary personal knowledge of content to herself mastermind an attack on French and Italian product . . . At the moment it is impossible to assert how serious a threat is Mrs. Granahan's probe. It might well find plenty of echoing editorials and provide city councils with handy arguments for setting up hometown censor boards."

Variety also reported: "Travelers returning from abroad reported that filmmakers in France and Italy are genuinely 'shocked' by stories of an upcoming Congressional probe to find a link between communism and the alleged 'low moral tone' of film imports. General opinion is that such a probe can only give ammunition to the communists by making U.S. lawmakers look foolish—especially when it's generally acknowledged that pix coming from communist countries usually are so highly moral-toned as to be downright dull."

Even if **Variety** isn't convinced of the danger to our moral fiber which is agitating Rep. Granahan, we still have the 1959 testimony of Post Office Chief Inspector David Stephens: "Time after time in our investigations of armed robbery, extortion, embezzlement and forgery, we learn that those responsible for such crimes were early collectors of obscene pictures and films."

The Soblen story

(Continued from Page 4)

tion that she would testify to having received secret information or any other kind from Hirschfeld or anyone else in the OSS.

- The prosecution's failure to mention Hirschfeld in the indictment or to refer to him in any way in any of its many pre-trial press releases made it impossible for him to be aware of the charges to be made against him at the trial and to act to clear his own name.
- The prosecution's refusal to identify Hirschfeld in any way during the trial and its concealment of his whereabouts precluded the possibility of the defense's getting in touch with him and calling him as a witness.
- Despite the instructions of the court directing the prosecution to turn over to the defense all of Mrs. Beker's pre-trial statements to the FBI relating to the case, no information relating to Hirschfeld's denials was furnished to the defendant by the government.

U.S. DENIAL: At the hearing at the new-trial plea, the government lawyers said papers given to the defense during the trial contained three separate references to Hirschfeld and his denial of Mrs. Beker's accusations.

When shown three different photostats containing references to Hirschfeld in Mrs. Beker's pre-trial FBI statements, attorney Friedman said: "This is exactly what we were looking for in reading through Mrs. Beker's pre-trial statements." Although he conceded that such a reference might have conceivably escaped his notice once, Friedman, a practicing lawyer for 36 years, asserted that he could hardly have missed such vital information in three different places had it been given to him by the prosecution as directed by the court.

NEW WITNESSES: On Oct. 19, at the final legal arguments on the motion, the defense got permission to take brief testimony from two witnesses with whom it had been put in touch for the first time the day before.

The first, Mrs. Caroline Carry Heppner, testified that during World War II she had worked side by side with Dr. Hirschfeld as his assistant throughout the entire time he worked in the OSS offices in Radio City, New York. All of their work was done either at the N.Y. Public Library or from books brought to them from the library.

She testified that neither she nor Dr. Hirschfeld, nor anyone else in their office ever received or had access to any kind of secret information.

On cross-examination, both prosecutor and judge hammered away at the witness, seeking to establish that, without her knowledge, Hirschfeld might have had access to the information in other OSS offices. Impossible, said Mrs. Heppner. She came to the office in the morning with Hirschfeld, left with him in the evening, worked at his side all day long. "To my memory," she said, "he did not ever leave the office" except for a minute or so at a time to go to the lavatory.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS: The second witness was Charlotte Stone, wife of Shepherd Stone, former assistant Sunday editor of the N.Y. **Times**, aide to General John McCloy in Occupied Germany, and now a Ford Foundation official. Mrs. Stone, who was supervisor of records in the biographical data unit of OSS, recalled that both Hirschfeld and Baerensprung were Social Democrats of long-standing and intensely anti-Communist. She was positive neither man had access to secret information about weapons or anything else.

"They did not get any information at all," Mrs. Stone testfied. "They were there to give us information." She explained that the sole purpose of the unit was to prepare biographies of Germans who might help the Allied forces construct a democratic Germany in the post-war years. "They had absolutely no access to secret information," she said. While the biographical unit existed, from June, '43, to the end of the war in '45, no one in the unit received information of any kind about weapons, she said. As for other OSS units which may have handled secret work, no one in her unit had badges authorizing them to enter any other OSS office. They had to have special visitor's passes to visit the personnel office.

The new-trial argument ended with the testimony of the two women and Judge Herlands promised a decision within a week. An adverse decision on the new-trial motion would be appealed along with Dr. Soblen's appeal from his conviction.

THE SOVIET DRAFT PROGRAM

Zilliacus on democracy-- East and West concepts

This article by British Labor M. P. Konni Zilliacus, who recently interviewed Soviet Premier Khrushchev (Guardian, Oct. 23), examines some aspects of the Draft Program at the Soviet Communist Party's 22d Congress. Zilliacus discusses the Soviet view of how socialism will spread and, in particular, the differing Western and Soviet concepts of democracy. Guardian readers are invited to comment by letter on the opinions expressed by Zilliacus.

By Konni Zilliacus

LONDON

THE DRAFT PROGRAM of the Soviet Communist Party, after setting forth a 20-year blueprint of social and economic progress, asserts that "the fight for democracy is an integral part of the fight for socialism." The program devotes a good deal of attention to the "withering away of the state" and its replacement by "organs of social self-government," voluntary cooperation, etc. It also speaks of more autonomy for Soviet republics and making a reality of discussion and free choice within the Communist Party by, among other things, cutting down the re-eligibility of its leaders and officials at every level. The same system is to be applied to organs of government.

In the Soviet Union's view, its successes and system will appeal so strongly to the peoples of the rest of the world—beginning with the Afro-Asians and Latin Americans and going on to the Western industrial democracies — that they will turn to Communism as the way to overcome backwardness and to realize social aims of modern communities.

THE HIGH ROAD: "The experience of the Soviet Union has shown," the program says, "that the peoples can attain socialism only through social revolution and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat . . .: The high road to socialism has been built. Many peoples will pass along that road. Sooner or later all peoples will take that road."

Because of this conviction that Soviet experience has universal validity and indicates the only road to socialism—a belief that goes against not only what Marx said, but also against Lenin's views before the Revolution and the findings of the 20th Congress in 1956—the influence of the 20-Year Program will be indirect rather than direct. For this belief that Soviet and other communist experience indicates the only road to socialism is based on an analysis of modern capitalism and imperialism which, although it contains much incidental truth, is a one-sided simplification, if not actual caricature and distortion, of the world in which we live.

As long ago as 1956 in a talk with Premier Khrushchev, I got the clear impression that he regarded the "neutralism" of Afro-Asian nations as merely a first stage, a kind of infant school after their liberation from colonialism, and thought they were bound sooner or later to find their way to communism. Experience has not justified this view. Except where these nations have been driven to communism by American intervention, as in the case of Vietnam and Korea (and perhaps even China), they have preferred to stay uncommitted, to go in for more and more public ownership and planning in their economies, but to work out their own political institutions and social structures, borrowing from both East and West but going their own national ways.

TWO CONCEPTS: Nor can we Western socialists accept the cavalier dismissal of democratic socialism in the program, or regard the Soviet concepts of democracy, freedom of speech, etc., as measuring up to our concepts of these things. That is true, even of left-wing Marxist parties, such as the Italian Socialist Party headed by Signor Nenni, and is a fortiori, the case with the British Labor Party and, for instance, the Scandinavian Social Democrats.

But these are matters which most people, including Russians, are content to leave to the future to decide. It is ultimately up to the rulers of the Western world. As I have often said in the House of Commons, if they insist on leaving the Communists with the monopoly of appealing to the three strongest collective passions in the modern world—the desire for national independence, for social justice and for peace—and persist in treating a social challenge as a military threat and trying to meet ideas by force, they will indeed hand most of the world over to communism. But they need not do so, and should indeed be stopped by their own peoples from going on with their socially hysterical and politically illiterate policies before it is too late, and we have to choose between diplomatic defeat or war, communism or extinction.

KEY CONDITION: The program is candid on the point:

"This program can be successfully fulfilled provided there is peace. Complications in the international situation and the resulting inevitable increase of defense expenditures can hold up the realization of our plans for raising the standards of living of the people . . .

"The experience of the Soviet Union has shown that the basic problem of our day is the problem of war and peace, and our greatest and most urgent duty is to prevent a nuclear war ever breaking out . . .

"Whereas capitalism established its rule with fire and sword, socialism does not need wars to spread its ideals. Its superiority over the old order in organizing society and the state, in economics, in raising the standard of living and civilization — those are the weapons of socialism."

PASSION FOR PEACE: This reflects the vital interests of the state, in a literal sense, as understood by the Soviet leaders. It also reflects the passion of the people. I recently spent five weeks in the Soviet Union and, because I speak Russian, heard innumerable moving expressions of longing for peace and dread of war.

In his broadcast of June 15, Khrushchev observed:

"In my discussions with President Kennedy [in Vienna] it became plain that we had different concepts of the meaning of peaceful coexistence between states. What the President meant amounted to saying that some kind of barrier should be erected against popular movements tending to set up social orders in their countries which were obnoxious to the rulers of the Western world.

"If we were to accept that position we should have to conclude agreements imposing on us the duty to control other states, not to allow any changes in their social order, even if their peoples rose against that order. In short, if the people in any country wished to change their social and political regime, they would be forbidden to do so.

"Naturally this is a completely false conception and we, of course, cannot agree with it. None has the right to oppose the struggles of peoples to be free. All regimes based on exploitation and oppression of peoples are unstable and cannot last forever; and however cunningly these systems of exploitation and oppression may be constructed, the people will in the end defeat their oppressors and fight their way to freedom. Change in social and political life, in the structure of society, is an inevitable process. It does not depend on agreements between statesmen."

ANOTHER VIEW: Contrast this with the remarks of Foreign Secretary Lord Home at the UN General Assembly:

"When one side advertises its intention to destroy the way of life of the other, then you cannot have true collective security . . .

"The nations ought to be able to combine to keep the peace. Why have they failed? Because one-third of the world is dedicated to destroy the way of life of the other third, and because one-third of the world has elevated to the status of dogma the exploitation of civil strife as the means to an end. I did not invent that, Mr. President; it comes straight out of the published documents of the 81 parties in the Moscow Declaration of last year. That is the threat to the West—the exploitation of civil strife wherever it is to be found, which is the advertised purpose of the Communist bloc."

The declaration of the 81 communist parties last December in fact said nothing more than the program of the C.P.S.U., summarized and quoted in the foregoing. It was the West which tried to destroy the Russian Revolution by force of arms, and then encouraged Hitler to arm and attack for the same purpose. Lord Home as Chamberlain's Parliamentary Private Secretary at Bad Godesberg, when Chamberlain delivered Czechoslovakia to Hitler and the world to war as part of his iniquitous and imbecile policy, should out of prudence if not shame keep quiet on these matters.

FEAR AND HATE: There is not much sense left in the capitalist ruling class—only fear and hate and fanaticism, ready to risk atomic annihilation rather than accept the advance of socialism. But on March 6, 1946, when the last war was still so fresh that even rulers of the Western world genuinely wanted peace with the Soviet Union, that organ of the British Establishment, the London **Times**, condemned Winston Churchill for his speech at Fulton, Mo., the day before, in which he asserted that communism and Western democracy were "irreconcilable opposites, dividing or attempting to divide the world between them today." This, said the **Times**, was an assumption of despair which failed to recognize two important points:

"The first is that there are many forms of government intermediate between Western democracy and communism, and some of them may be better adapted at the present stage of their development to the requirements of Eastern Europe or of the Middle or Far East.

"The second is that while Western democracy and communism are in many respects opposite, they have much to learn from one another—communism in the working of political institutions and in the establishment of individual rights, Western democracy in the development of economic and social planning.

"The ideological warfare between Western democracy and communism will not result in an out-and-out victory for either side. The issue will be determined neither by clashes of eloquence nor by clashes of arms, but by the success of the great nations in dealing with the problems of social organization which the war has left behind it."

PRESSURE URGED: That view is surely common sense and realism. Neither side seems prepared to take that line today. But if liberals and socialists in the West put enough pressure on their governments to make them take it, there is every reason to believe that the Soviet side will respond.

Peace is the ally of democracy and freedom. The cold war is the fomenter and perpetuator of the evils of the police state everywhere. Peace will lead to more economic planning and public ownership in the West. But it will also liberalize and democratize the political superstructures of the socialist states in the East. Last but not least, the cold war is bound to end sooner or later in nuclear war. Peaceful coexistence is essential to the survival of the human race.

GUARDIAN photo by Robert Joyce

Special Delivery to the governments of the world: Disarm!

Roy Jacobsen and a friend rigged a trailer as a "peace mailbox" in San Francisco and drove it to New York. En route they collected 4,438 letters for disarmament. With friends in New York and others he met across the country, Jacobsen hopes to form a national Peace Mailbox Assn. to draw up a disarmament plan and an international code of ethics which will require neither side to change its social system. For information, write to Peace Mailbox, General Delivery, New York 1, N. Y.

All safe in Nebraska

LINCOLN, Neb., Oct. 10 (UPI)—Gov. Frank B. Morrison has signed a bill outlawing the Communist party in Nebraska. The law provides up to twenty years in prison for party members.

—From the New York **Times**, Oct. 11

1961 SHOPPING GUIDE

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE is honored to announce that David Alfaro Siqueiros, world-famous Mexican artist, who has been imprisoned in Mexico City for the last 15 months, has prepared a holiday greeting card exclusively for readers of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

"PAZ," reproduced in black and white (right), is a magnificent oil painting showing peace striking like lightning out of the dark clouds of war, and a hand holding a single rose to the future. It has been reproduced by the GUARDIAN in all of its vivid, rich colors in a 5"x7", single-fold greeting card, on exquisite, heavy stock.

The painting was done in Lecumberri Prison in Mexico City late in September shortly before the artist, who has been jailed under Mexico's notorious "social dissolution law," and who is suffering from hepatitis and failing sight, collapsed..

The GUARDIAN is packing eight cards to a box, with white, vellum envelopes. The price is $2 per box. T.hey will be sold only through GBS, and will be available for delivery about November 20.

All friends of peace will want this magnificent greeting card.

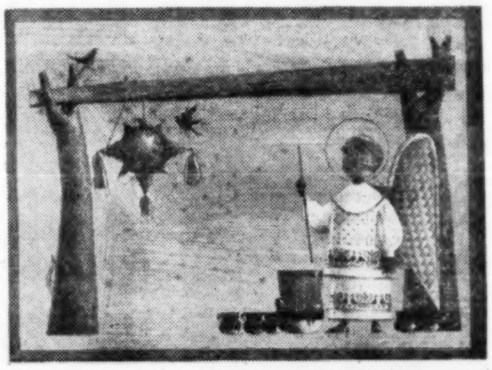
PAZ, by David Alfaro Siqueiros, a color oil painting prepared for the GUARDIAN in Lecumberri Prison, Mexico City.

Cards by Siqueiros and Hidalgo!

A GBS Exclusive from Mexico

A GBS GREETING CARD COUP! Through our Mexico City Scout GBS has acquired 1,000 boxes of extraordinarily beautiful holiday cards by the noted Mexican artist, Rangel Hidalgo, whose UNESCO cards were so popular a few years ago. Our new cards, distinctly Mexican in their highly stylized figures, are printed on medium weight, quality stock with a single fold, without a message inside, making them suitable for your own holiday greeting or for later use as note cards. All cards are 4½" x 6" and come packed ten in a box (two of #509, three of #507, four of #508 and one of #501) with envelopes. Printed in Mexico in five colors, with a gold border, they are exquisitely tasteful. For ten cards of one kind only, add 25c for special collating and packaging. $2 per box of ten.

1,000 boxes only—Order today!
Bulk prices on all cards on request



#509 — 4½" x 6", two to a set of 10, printed in five colors, with gold border, pale blue background.

#507 — 3 in a set of 10, same size as above, on dark blue background with gold stars.

#508 — Four cards to a set, gray background, gold border, red and gold pinatta.

#501 — one each in a set of 10; beautiful colors.

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING
GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A Magnificent Holiday Gift — A Precision Soviet Wristwatch!

OF all the items GBS offers there is none we're prouder of than our Soviet watches. They're beautiful, sturdy and matchless timekeepers, and best of all we're able to bring them to you at a very low price. Our GBS watch repairman, who's had very little to do since we began handling them, declares they're the equivalent of watches selling in the $75-$100 range.

All have jeweled movements, are waterproof, shockproof and anti-magnetic, and are guaranteed for a full year. Parts for all watches we handle are in the hands of our repair service, so there's no problem about repairs. We have adequate stocks of both the women's **Slava** and the men's **Poljot** stem-wind model, but only forty of the **Poljot** automatics are left, so if you intend to order an automatic you'd better do it now.

WOMEN'S SLAVA—A tiny jewel (shown in photo, above, slightly enlarged). Dust-proof, gold-plated case, with a 17-jewel movement and stainless steel back. Runs 34 hours on one winding. Comes without wristband—you can select your own. GBS PRICE **$24.95**

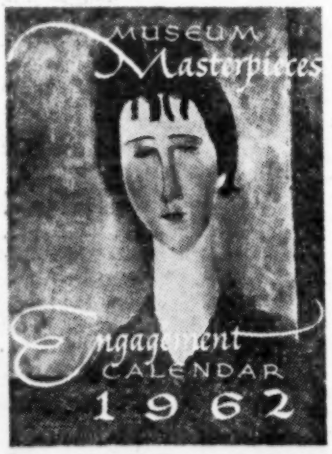
A

A—Mens' "Poljot"—An exceptionally beautiful watch with a gold-plated case, and waterproof, stainless steel, anti-shock back. 17-jewel movement, sweep second hand, monometal balance wheel, with guaranteed maximum time variation plus-or-minus 45 sec. in 24 hours. Winding time minimum 34 hours. ....**GBS PRICE $24.50**

B—Poljot Automatic—A handsome self-winding model with 22-jewel movement in a stainless steel case, 1 7/16" in diameter. Luminous hands and hour markings, plus all characteristics above. **$34.50**

B

Plus 10% F.E.T. In N.Y.C., add 3% sales tax.



Our Handsome 1962 Engagement Calendar

HERE'S a thoughtful little gift—our popular engagement calendar of museum masterpieces. 24 pages—two pages for each month —each page facing a handsome four-color reproduction of a great art work. Utrillo, Modigliani, Van Gogh, Matisse, Renoir, Dufy are all in here, with plenty of space to note your daily engagements. 5¾"x 8", with a glossy, chrome-coat cover that resists soil or fingerprints. Buy them to give to friends. **$1 each**
Six for $5

Map of Africa!

To keep up with events you need a map of modern Africa, showing the sixteen new nations admitted to the U.N. in the past two years. Here's a full color, laminated 50"x33" up-to-date Hammond map, suitable for hanging or framing. Mailed in a sturdy mailing tube. ....**Just $3**

NOTE: Except where indicated all Guardian merchandise is shipped prepaid. Gift items are carefully packaged and shipped upon receipt of order.

For the last time—

(Above) **PERE NOEL**—Picasso's famous "Father Christmas" on heavy 5"x7" card stock in three colors, with Season's Greetings at the bottom. Eight cards and envelopes 50c

40 Cards (5 boxes)—$2

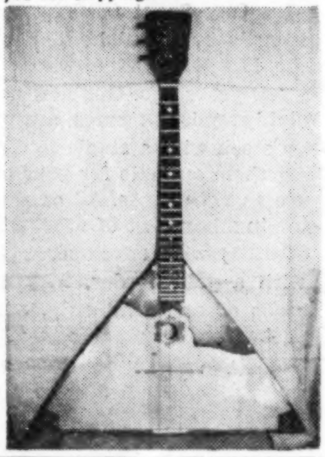
For the family that has everything...

A SAMOVAR?

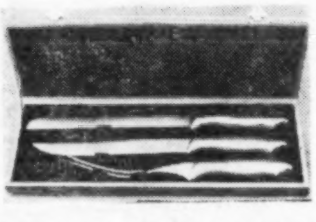
You don't have to go without tea this winter when the power goes off in a windstorm. Just stoke up your samovar and the tea'll taste better than ever! Our GBS samovars are made in Tula, U.S.S.R., of heavy, nickel-plated brass, and come in both 5 and 7-litre capacities, with polished wood handles. **Low GBS prices: 5 litres—$45; 7 litres—$55, PLUS SHIPPING.**

A BALALAIKA?

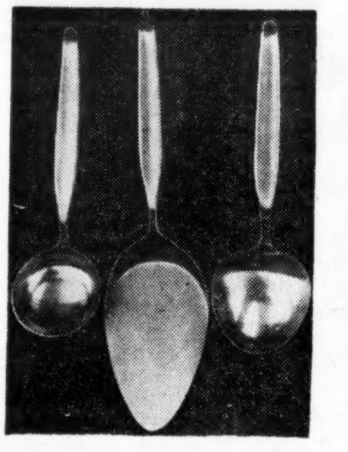
Believe it or not, but there's a big demand in the U.S. for genuine Soviet balalaikas. Ours are high-quality, professional instruments of highly polished hard wood. Seven panels, three strings, with open-type nickel-plated peg box mechanism. Canvas cover $3 extra. **GBS Price — $40, plus shipping. (Send in your order and we'll bill you for shipping.)**



3-PIECE CARVING SET — Smart, mirror-finish stainless steel carving set, with contoured handles, and attractive wooden case. ....Just $5.95



POLISH SISTER DOLLS — 17" and 13" high, sold as set only. **just $3**

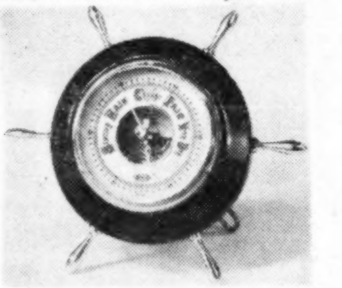


Stainless Steel Set from Holland!

SMART, MODERN DESIGN—One of the finest sets of flatware GBS has ever handled—a 42-piece set, serving for eight, of "18/8" stainless steel from Holland. Five-piece serving (knife, fork, teaspoon, salad fork and soup spoon), plus sugar shell and butter knife, beautifully mounted in a permanent, wood, velvet-lined chest. "18/8" is the highest grade steel, with 18% chromium and 8% nickel. **$29.95**
53-PIECE SET—All the above, plus eight extra teaspoons, and cake server, ladle and serving spoon. **$36.95**

Barometers

Nautical style aneroid barometer, with six gleaming brass spokes. Mahogany finished, highly polished wood casing, 3¼" enamel dial, and heavy, raised glass face. Comes with metal easel for desk or wall use. Overall 5½" in diameter. **MODEL BA2** .... **JUST 4.50**



PURE WOOL PAISLEY SCARF

Hand printed, Japanese 31" square Paisley scarves of the finest worsted money can buy. Far superior to European imports. Hemmed, available in black or white. A fine value at **$2**

A *superb holiday gift — any 3 Parliaments for $5!*

OUR recent offer of Parliament records at 3 for $5 was made to clear our shelves for holiday merchandise. But the response has been so overwhelming that we've decided to continue it through the holidays. They make a fine and inexpensive gift. Note, in the last column, that six albums are two-record sets, and that when ordering one of them you may order only one other record for $5.

PLP 101—DVORAK, SYMPHONY NO. 5 in E MINOR (**"New World"**), Czechoslovakian Philharmonic Orchestra under Talich.

PLP 102 — KHATCHATURIAN, SUITE from the GAYNE BALLET, C.P.O. directed by Chalabala.

PLP 103 — RIMSKY-KORSAKOV. SCHEHERAZADE, C. P. O. under Chalabala.

PLP 104—MOZART: VIOLIN CONCERTO IN D MAJOR #4, Jiri Novak, violinist, with Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. by Talich. PLUS **MOZART: CONCERTO FOR BASSOON AND ORCHESTRA,** C.P.O. cond. by Ancerl.

PLP 105 — BEETHOVEN, SYMPHONY NO. 6 ("Pastoral"), C.P.O. under Karel Sejna.

PLP 106—MOUSSORGSKY-RAVEL: PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION, C.P.O., Pedrotti, cond.

PLP 107—ROSSINI: OPERA OVERTURES (Barber of Seville, Italiana in Algeri, Semiramide), C.P.O., Sejna, cond.

PLP 108—FAMOUS OVERTURES AND PRELUDES (William Tell, Carmen, Merry Wives of Windsor, etc.), Vienna Symphony and C.P.O.

PLP 109—WAGNER: OVERTURES AND PRELUDES (Tristan, Parsifal, Rienzi, Tannhauser), Vienna State Orch., cond by Swarowsky.

PLP 110—DEBUSSY: LA MER, NOCTURNES 1 & 2; C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere.

PLP 113 — TCHAIKOVSKY: Symphony No. 6 ("Pathetique"), C.P.O. under Talich.

PLP 114—RAVEL: BOLERO AND RHAPSODIE ESPAGNOL, C.P.O., cond. by Desormiere and Silvestri.

PLP 115 — RICHARD STRAUSS: ROSENKAVALIER WALTZES & TIL EULENSPIEGEL: Vienna State Orch., Swarowsky, and C.P.O., Swarowsky.

PLP 117—BEETHOVEN: "MOONLIGHT" SONATA & APASSIONATA SONATA, by Rauch and Vandrovic, pianists, respectively.

PLP 118 — DAVID OISTRAKH: PROGRAM of Prokofiev (Love For Three Oranges), Kodaly, Szymanowksy, Bartok, Suk and Vladigerov.

PLP 120—TCHAIKOVSKY: CONCERTO NO. 1, with **Sviatoslav Richter** and the C.P.O. under Ancerl.

PLP 122—PROKOFIEV—SYMPHONY No. 7. C.P.O., cond. by Anosov.

PLP 124 — LISZT: CONCERTO PATHETIQUE & SPANISH RHAPSODY, with the Hungarian State Symphony cond. by Vaszy & Lehel.

PLP 125—THIS IS HUNGARY. A collection of authentic Folk Songs and Dances.

PLP 126—LISZT: LES PRELUDES Leipzig Gewandhaus Orch., Konwitschny cond.; and **TASSO,** Prague Symphony Orch., cond. by Smetacek.

PLP 129 (*STEREO PLPS)—BEETHOVEN: SYMPHONY NO. 3 Czech Philharmonic under Von Matacic.

PLP 130 (*STEREO PLPS)—RIMSKY-KORSAKOV: SUITES FROM OPERAS LE COQ D'OR & KITEZH; Prague Symphony, Smatcek, cond.

PLP 131 (*STEREO PLPS)—BERLIOZ: SYMPHONY FANTASTIQUE; Czech Philharmonic with Zecchi, cond.

PLP 132 (*STEREO PLPS) — PROKOFIEV: ROMEO AND JULIET SUITE; Czech Philharmonic under Ancerl.

PLP 134—CONCERTO NO. 2 in C MINOR, for Piano and Orchestra, Rachmaninoff; the Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond. SVIATOSLAV RICHTER, pianist.

PLP 135*—HUNGARIAN RHAPSODY NO. 2; HUNGARIAN FANTASIA FOR PIANO AND ORCH., Franz Liszt; and **HUNGARIAN DANCES,** Brahms; the Hungarian Radio Symphony under Lehel.

PLP 136—SYMPHONY NO. 5 IN C MINOR; Beethoven; the CPO under Ancerl.

PLP 137 — RUMANIAN RHAPSODIES 1 & 2, Enesco; **EL AMOR BRUJO** (Ballet Suite); the CPO under Sylvestri and Meylan, resp.

PLP 139—DVORAK, CELLO CONCERTO, Rostroprovitch with the Czech Philharmonic Orch. Talich, Cond.

PLP 145 — TCHAIKOVSKY: 1812 Overture; Mendelssohn, Midsummer Night's Dream Overture; BRAHMS, Tragic Overture; SMETANA: Bartered Bride Overture.

HANDEL: WATER MUSIC (complete)—Ferenck, cond.; Brno Phil. Orch. .... **PLP 146**

BEETHOVEN: PIANO CONCERTO NO. 5—"Emperor" — Sejna, cond. Czech Phil. Orch. ....**PLP 147**

TCHAIKOVSKY SYMPHONY No. 5 Lovro con Matacic, cond. Czech Phil. Orch. ....**PLP 149**

"Light" **CLASSICAL COLLECTION NO. 3 — WAGNER** (Good Friday music); **RIMSKY-KORSAKOV** (Russian Easter Overture); DUKAS (**The** Sorcerer's Apprentice); **DELIBES** (Suite from "Coppelia") **PLP 150**

"Light" **CLASSICAL COLLECTION NO. 4 — BORODIN (Polovtsian Dances & In the Steppes of Central Asia); RIMSKY-KORSAKOV (Overture to the Tsar's Bride); MOUSSORGSKY (Night on Bald Mountain); DARCOMIJSKY (Cossack Dance)** ....**PLP 151**

TWO-RECORD ALBUMS

The following albums are two-record albums. In ordering three records for $5, you may include only one two-record album below, plus any single record album, above.

PLP 111-2 (Two-record set) SMETANA: MA VLAST (Complete); C.P.O., cond. by Talich.

PLP 112-2 (Two-record set) TCHAIKOVSKY: SWAN LAKE (Complete); Skvor and Prague National Theater Orch.

PLP 121-2 — (Two-record set) DVORAK: SLAVONIC DANCES (Complete); C.P.O., Talich cond. ". . . nobody has achieved the rapport with this music that Talich has."—New York **Times.**

PLP 127-2 (Two-record album) SHOSTAKOVITCH: SYMPHONY NO. 7 (The "Leningrad" Symphony); A powerful performance of a monumental work, with the C.P.O. under Ancerl.

PLP 133*—HEBRAIC CHANTS FOR THE HOLY DAYS; the Marcel Lorand Trio; a de luxe two record set.

PLP 138/2 -- (Two-record set) BEETHOVEN, PIANO CONCERTO Nos. 1 & 2; Emil Gilels and the Leningrad Philharmonic Orch. under Sanderling.

***STEREO—Add $1 per record**

Books from China for young & old

MINIMUM ORDER $2

Use coupon on this page

1—**PEKING**—An Album. Everyone who has been able to afford this book is delighted with it! China's capital city in photos of today and yesterday, reproductions of ancient and modern paintings in color, paste-ins and fold-outs; the arts, crafts and industries of the people, the Great Wall, the Gate of Heavenly Peace, the Summer Palace, the Ming Tombs Reservoir, Ancient Temples, Government Buildings. Captions in Chinese with translations in English and Russian in accompanying booklets. 1959. Silk. Boxed. 9¼"x12". 291 pp. $30.00

2—**PEKING TODAY AND YESTERDAY,** by Hu Chia. Historical development of China's capital city from early times to the present. Photos of ancient monuments and modern buildings. 1956. 123 pp. $1.50

3—**UNDER THE SUNSHINE OF PEACE.** Photos of Chinese children at school, at home and at play. Text in Chinese and English. Shanghai People's Art Publishing House, Shanghai. 1956. 78 pp. 50c.

4—**CHINESE FABLES AND ANECDOTES.** 4th Cent. B.C. to 18th Cent. A.D. Includes: Man Who Was Afraid of Ghosts, Two Ways of Cooking the Goose, etc. Illus. 1959. 53 pp. 50c

5—**SELECTED STORIES OF LU HSUN.** 18 early stories, including: Flight to the Moon, Soap, True Story of Ah Q, etc. 1960. 323 pp. $2.25

6—**CHU YUAN.** Picture story of the life and tragic death of the ancient poet in whose honor is held the Dragon-boat Festival. 1957. 104 pp. 50c

7—**THE FORSAKEN WIFE.** A Chinese folk tale retold in pictures and brief text. 1958. 86 pp. 50c

8—**THE MINISTER AND THE GENERAL.** The story is based on a well-known historical event in the Warring States Period (475-221 B.C.) 1959. 94 pp. ...50c

9—**THE OLD MESSENGER.** Story of a postman who delivered messages behind the enemy lines. 1956. 64 pp. 50c

10—**RECONNAISSANCE ACROSS THE YANGTSE.** Story of the scouts who prepared the way for the crossing of the Yangtse in 1949. 152 pp. 50c

11—**THE RIVERSIDE PAVILION.** Photogrpahs of a Szechuan Opera performance based on the play by the classical dramatist, Kuan Han-ching. 1958. 108 pp. 50c

12—**THE SHEPHERD AND THE DRAGON.** A forest is planted to thwart the Wind Dragon. 1958. 26 pp. 35c

13—**A GIRL AND HER MYNAH.** A poor girl makes a pet of a songbird. A jealous rich girl seeks to destroy them both. Illus. by Cheng Shih-fa. Each page is a picture of beauty, with brief narrative text. 1959. 38 pp. 75c

14—**THE HEAVENLY MAID AND THE MORTAL.** Verse. On the peasant who marries a goddess. 1958. 32 pp. 35c

15—**I'VE DONE A GOOD JOB.** Story of a good deed done by a boy of 13. 1959. 36 pp. 35c

16—**A LAZY GIRL'S WISH.** A story that points up the value and satisfaction of not being lazy. 1960. 46 pp. 35c

17—**MY CHILDHOOD.** As told by the son of a guerrilla fighter. 1958. 28 pp. .35

19—**THE PROUD GENERAL.** Moral in magnificent color. False pride is deflated. 1959. 22 pp. 35c

20—**A STRANGE JOURNEY.** An imaginative story in which a young girl with an ant for companion travels through an unuusal world. 1957. 66 pp. 50c

21—**THE SUMMER HOLIDAYS.** Vacation on a farm; the excitement of new developments. 1958. 16 pp. 25c

22—**THE WOOING OF SODNAM DROLMA,** by Wu Kuang-yu. Drawings by Yao Yo-two and Yao Yu-hsim. A Tibetan folk tale with a happy ending. Beautiful illustrations. 1960. 46 pp. 75c

13—**BIG LIN AND LITTLE LIN,** by Chang Tien-yi. A humorous story about the two sons of a poor farmer whose lives take opposite courses, and a satire on the crime and gangsterism of the old regime, ending with a hilarious scene. 1958. 159 pp. 75c

24—**THE MAGIC GOURD,** by Chang Tien-yi. A modern fantasy in which a teenage boy is able to get anything he wishes—except happiness. 1959. 94 pp. $1.00

25—**OUR LIFE.** Stories, poems, articles and drawings by Chinese children, ages 10 to 16. Published by the Chinese People's National Committee for the Defense of Children. 1955. 71 pp. 50c

26—**THE RAINBOW ROAD,** by Hu Chi. Exciting adventure story of three boys in the high mountains of Tibet who achieve an unusual goal. Colorful material on local people and customs. Illus. 1959. 158 pp. $1.35

27—**THE STORY OF LITTLE BLACK HORSE.** A young beggar goes to work on a state farm, but reverts to the life of a juvenile delinquent. In the end he learns the value of work and constructive effort. A powerful and dramatic story for teenagers. 1959. 186 pp. $1.25

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9

Please send me the following numbers ....

Check or money order for $ is enclosed. (Minimum order $2)

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

ZONE ....STATE ....

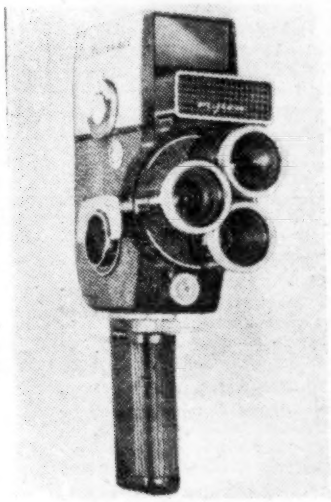
CAMERAS!

HAVE YOU THOUGHT OF BUYING A CAMERA? Or, if you already have one, have you thought of disposing of it and buying one of the new automatic cameras that take all the guesswork out of picture shooting? And if the answer is *still* no, have you considered an inexpensive automatic camera as a gift for someone?

GBS, after careful scrutiny of the market, has settled upon two major makes of cameras in two price ranges: under **$100**, and $300 up. By far our most popular models are the **Fujicas**, from the little Magic Eye 120 to the superb Model EE.

Below are brief descriptions of each camera. Every one is unconditionally endorsed by GBS. If you are interested, you should write for information and a price list right away.

FUJICA



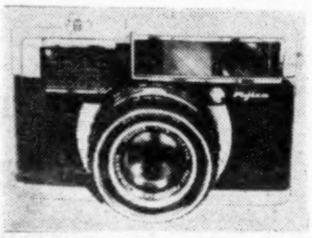
8 mm Motion Picture Cameras

MODEL 8T3 — Electric-eye, with "Zoom viewfinder. Just center the needle in the viewfinder picture window and shoot. Three matched FUJINON f/1.9 lenses — normal, wide angle and telephoto—linked to the viewfinder so that you see exactly what you're shooting. Four speeds, rachet wind, single frame exposure, and many other features. A magnificent camera with a retail value of **$100.**

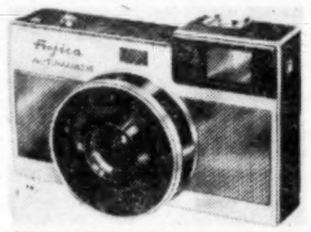
MODEL 8EE — Basically the same camera as the 8T3 except that it is fully automatic (and manual, if you prefer) and offers a three-bladed diaphragm (instead of the usual two) for extra picture sharpness. **List—$120.**

FUJICA 8 ZOOM—All the features of the other models but with a Fujinon f/1.8 "zoom" lens permitting an infinite number of picture sizes from 12mm to 32mm. List $140. (6.5mm to 17.5mm wide-angle converter lens $14.85 addit.)

FUJICA 35SE — An exceptional camera, with light meter integrally coupled with a complete range of aperture - shutter speed combinations. Speeds up to 1/1000th of a second, plus bulb, automatic parallax correction, rear focusing, single-stroke film advance lever, brilliant viewfinder, flash synch, delayed action timer, rangefinder, etc. With 6-element FUJINON f/1.9 lens, a retail value of **$110**; with 5-element f/2.8 lens, valued at **$90.**



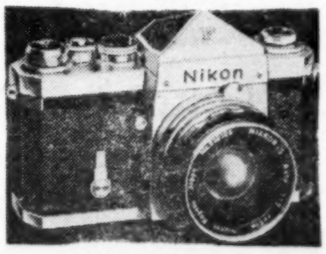
FUJICA 35EE AUTOMATIC—all the features of the SE above, but completely automatic! Just focus and shoot—the light meter automatically sets the lens for any light condition. Lists at $120, write for GBS price list.



AUTOMATIC "35"—A fine camera for the young photographer or "Sunday shooter" who wants good pictures without having to become an expert. Fully automatic electric eye coupled to diaphragm at 1/40th and 1/250 of a second preset shutter speeds. FUJINON 38 mm f/3.4 lens. Takes all 35 mm b&w or color film from ASA 10 to 200. Flash synchronization built in. List price **—$39.95.**

Magic Eye 120—$19.95; write for data.

NIKON



NIKON "F" Reflex

NIKON "F" AUTOMATIC REFLEX — 35 mm, 36 exp., 1"x1 1/2"; complete with interchangeable pentaprism eye-level finder; instant return automatic mirror and diaphragm; built-in depth of field preview control; accepts diaphragm and shutter-coupled exposure meter (**$36.50 extra**) **with 50 mm f/2.0 Auto lens $329.50; with 58 mm f/1.4 Auto lens, $375.** ACCESSORIES: Case, lenses from 21 mm to 1000 mm, exposure meter, electric motor drive, flash equipment, filters, lens hoods and caps, copying equipment, etc. Write for full information on all NIKON equipment.

NIKON MODEL SP (Rangefinder-coupled): 35 mm, 36 exp., 1"x1 1/2"; built-in Universal Viewfinder provides correct viewing field for 28 mm, 35 mm, 50 mm, 85 mm, 105 mm, and 135 mm lenses without accessory finders; focusing and framing for normal and telephoto lenses with life-size (1 to 1) bright frame rangeviewfinder with automatic parallax compensation; 13 shutter speeds from 1 to 1000, plus Time and Bulb, electronic flash at 1/60th, etc. **Camera with 50 mm f/2.0 lens, $329.50; with f/1.4 lens, $375.**

NIKKOREX

NIKKOREX 35 mm Single Lens Reflex: **50 mm f/2.5 lens, built-**in coupled light meter, with meter pointer visible in finder, automatic diaphragm and instant-return mirror, single-stroke advance lever, shutter speeds to 1/500, plus T&B **$119.50**

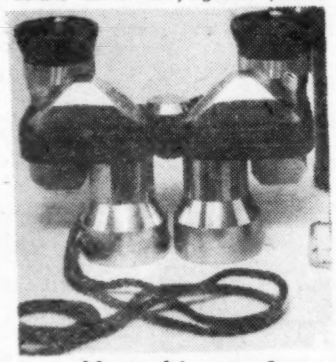
NIKKOREX 8 mm Movie Camera —Compact (5¾" x 3¾" x 1¾"), lightweight (22 1/2 oz.), f/1.8 fixed focus lens, fully automatic electric eye, electric motor drive eliminates winding, built-in U.V. filter, ASA speeds 5 to 100. **$79.95**

New low prices on binoculars!

B47—7x35 center focus binoculars for all-around use. 35 mm lenses and strong 7-power magnification. Lenses are coated and baked and are equipped with protective plastic covers. Comes with handsome leather carrying case with leather strap. Fully guaranteed. An excellent buy at **$19.95**

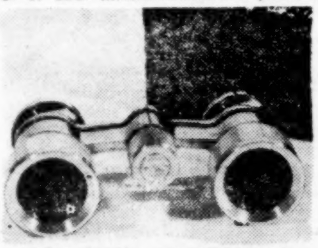
B42—Extra powerful center focus "naval" binoculars, 7x50. Clear and brilliant, where distance is needed . . . for hunting, sports, hiking, etc. All the features above, but 50mm lenses $23.95

B123—In our opinion just about the sharpest, finest binoculars money can buy. 7x35 wide angle gives you 531 ft. field at 1,000 yards! Amazingly brilliant, center focus, deluxe leather carrying case **$26.95**



New this year!

B164—7x25 Wide Angle—Here's an extraordinary, midget-sized all-purpose binocular, appropriate in concert hall or football stadium. 7-power magnification, panoramic 10° field, precision - ground coated lenses, individual focus. Comes in calfskin case, with straps. For mother or dad. **$23.50**



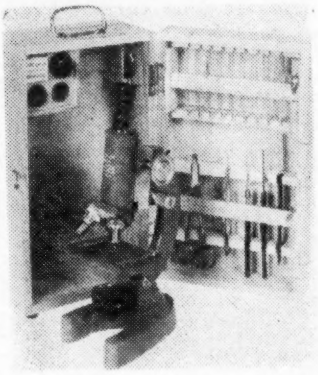
OPERA GLASSES

B-123 — **Opera Glasses** with exquisite mother-of pearl barrels and handsome, matching brocaded carrying case. 2½ power, with center focus, metal parts silver plated. Beautifully made, a lovely holiday gift for just **$10.50**

TRANSISTOR RADIO — The best value in portable transistor radios that GBS has found is still the 8-transistor Continental TR801. It has Vernier tuning on a slide rule dial, measures 5"x3"x1½" and operates on four penlite batteries. Comes with leather carrying case, batteries, earphone and case. **Now $21.95**

A New, Superior 1200x Microscope

B-191—An excellent, new 1200-power microscope is an ideal holiday gift for child or parent. The new 191 is a 4-turret unit with 9 power adjustments (100-power, 2-3-4-5-6-7-8-1000 and 1200), 2 eyepieces (10x and 15x), with mirror and illumination. Comes packed in hardwood box with 6-piece dissecting kit and slides. A real value at **$18.95**



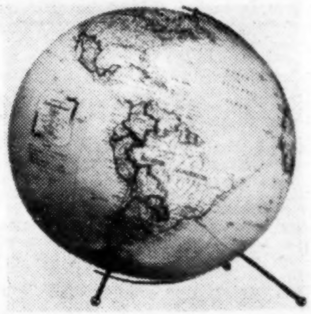
"Power" Mixer Closeout!

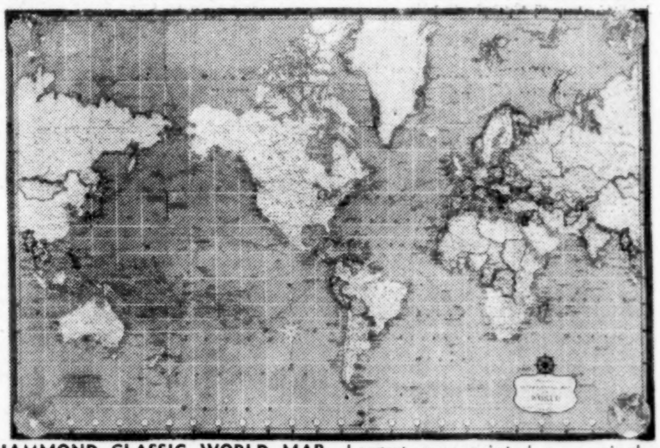
What better way to get the little ones to drink their chocolate milk or orange juice than by letting them whip it with their own power mixer? This has been one of our most popular items—a battery driven mixer that can't hurt you even if you put your finger in the spokes. 9" overall. It really works! (It's really a cocktail stirrer and mother can use it for eggs, gravies, etc., as well)

JUST $1.25

HAMMOND 18" INFLATABLE GLOBE—Printed in 9 colors with clear vinyl finish. Shipped flat. Attractive wrought iron stand adjustable for wall mounting or table top. Nearly 5' in circumference with clear type. (List $16.50). PLUS 9½"x12½" 312-page World Atlas ($7.50 value) with gold-embossed, simulated leather cover.

A $24 Value Both for $16.50





HAMMOND CLASSIC WORLD MAP—Largest ever printed on a single sheet, a full 52"x76". In full color with latitude and longitude lines in white. Time zones, mileage scale, etc. Shipped in tube for flat mounting or framing. Up-to-date, with all new nations **$7.50**

TYPEWRITERS

FROM LOW-PRICED AZTEC "600s" (illustrated) to the deluxe **OPTIMA** and **AZTEC** "800s", GBS carries a complete line of portable East German typewriters. All machines carry five-year warranties on parts and service dealers are spread throughout the country. Feature for feature, dollar for dollar, we think these machines are far superior to other models in their price range —and GBS saves you as much as $55 over retail prices (the **AZTEC "800"** is currently selling in New York stores for $135). The **AZTEC** "600," "700" and "800" have key-set tabulation, 88-character keyboards with block type keys, finger-tip margin set, touch control, half spacing, and many other features, such as spring steel keys which will not go out of line. All machines are available in a wide range of solid colors and two-color combinations.

AZTEC 600—(Formerly the Rheinmetal)—A "best buy" with all Aztec features at a modest price **(Plus $3.60 Federal tax) $75**

AZTEC 800—The top of the line —segment shift (type bar moves up and down instead of the carriage), extra chromium **$79.95**
(Plus $3.75 Federal tax)

OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE — The finest Optima machine. Specify leatherette or solid case **$79.95** (Also, in foreign language keyboards such as Russian, Spanish, Portuguese, Hebrew, Ukrainian.)
(Plus $3.75 Federal Tax)

SPECIAL NOTE: For New Yorkers only, or those who can pick 'em up — we also handle the Optima standard office machine as well as Rheinmetal adding machines.

OPTIMA SUPER Typewri
is letter was typed o
This typewriter is of
consumer.

New Script Type

The OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE typewriter is now available with script type as shown above, at the same price as our other Optima machines. Be sure to specify script type when ordering if you want this unusual face. ....**JUST $79.95 plus tax**

HOLIDAY RECORD BUYS

25 VANGUARD BEST-SELLERS

Here are the 25 all-time Vanguard best-sellers, every one a superb record that has stood the test of time. You can't go wrong giving one of these records to a friend at holiday time. Any three, $10.

The Weavers

VRS 9010—THE WEAVERS AT CARNEGIE HALL—Kisses Sweeter Than Wine, Darling Corey, Rock Island Line, Lonesome Traveler, When The Saints Go Marching In, Go Where I Send Thee, Sixteen Tons, Goodnight Irene, etc.

VRS 9013—THE WEAVERS ON TOUR—Tzena Tzena, Old Smoky, Filimiooreay, Drill Ye Tarriers, Clementine, Michael Row The Boat Ashore, So Long, etc.

VRS 9024—THE WEAVERS AT HOME—This Land, Sauty Ano, Aunt Rhodie, All Night Long, Midnight Special, You Old Fool, etc.

VRS 9043—TRAVELING ON WITH THE WEAVERS—Twelve Gates to The City, Erie Canal, I Never Will Marry, Mi Caballo, Kumbaya, Hopsha-Diri, Greenland Whale Fisheries, Si Mi Quieries, Gotta Travel On, etc.

VRS 9075—THE WEAVERS AT CARNEGIE HALL, Vol. 2—Good Old Bowling Green, Sinking of the Reuben James, New Jerusalem, Subo, Marching to Pretoria, Tapuach Hineni, Stewball, Run Come See, On My Journey, Buttermilk Hill, Gallows Tree, Bill Bailey, etc.

Leon Bibb

VRS 9041—LEON BIBB SINGS FOLK SONGS—(with chorus and orchestra, Milt Okun conducting, Fred Hellerman, guitar). Songs include: Sinner Man, East Virginia, Turtle Dove, Darlin', Rocks and Gravel, Poor Lolette, Look Over Yonder, Red Rosy Bush, Take This Hammer, Skillet, Irene, etc.

VRS 9058—TOL' MY CAPTAIN, by LEON BIBB: Chain Gang and Work Songs—Midnight Special, Tol' My Captain, Sylvie, I Seen Little Rosie, Prettiest Train, Bald Headed Woman, This is the Hammer That Killed John Henry, etc.

Paul Robeson

VRS 9051—PAUL ROBESON AT CARNEGIE HALL—The recording of Robeson's last famous concert in America on May 9, 1958. (Includes the short reading from **Othello**, and a short reading and song from **Boris Godounov**.) Every Time I Feel the Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, O Thou Silent Night, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home, Joe Hill and others.

VRS 9037—ROBESON—(with chorus and orchestra, Harriet Wingreen, piano)—Water Boy, Shenandoah, Deep River, John Brown's Body, Jerusalem, Londonderry Air, Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child, Get on Board, Little Children, The House I Live In, Loch Lomond, Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes, Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, All Through the Night.

Odetta

VRS 9076 — ODETTA AT CARNEGIE HALL—Red Clay Country, If I Had a Hammer, Jericho, Motherless Child, Meeting at the Building, Ain't No Grave Can Hold My Body Down, John Henry, Gallows Pole, John Riley, Hold On, etc.

VRS 9066—BALLAD FOR AMERICANS with ODETTA and the DeCormier Chorale Symphony of the Air—The great Earl Robinson-John LaTouche ballad, plus a selection of songs including This Land, On Top of Old Smoky, Payday at Coal Creek, Going Home, etc.

Martha Schlamme

VRS 9049—MARTHA SCHLAMME SINGS JEWISH FOLK SONGS (with orchestra conducted by Robert DeCormier) Lomir alle freylech zein, Der Rebbe Elimelech, Zog Maran, Der Fetter Nuss'n, Margaritkelech, Tumba Tumba, Chazkele, Rozhinkes mit Mandlen, Teire Malke, Dos Pastuchi, Vos Villstu, S'dremlen Feygl oyf di Tsvaygn, Lomir sich Iberbeten, S'loifn S'yugn Schwartze Wolkns, Dana, Dana,

VRS 9078—JOHN BAEZ—Silver Dagger, East Virginia, Fare Thee Well, House of the Rising Sun, All My Trials, Wildwood Flower, Donna Donna, etc. With Fred Hellerman, 2nd guitar.

VRS 9085—NETANIA DAVRATH: SONGS OF THE AUVERGNE—15 captivating folk songs, arranged by Joseph Canteloube with an ancient air.

VRS 1045—ERICH KUNZ: German University Songs, Vol. IV; Includes Moorsoldaten, Die Gedanken sind Frei, Ich hatt'ein Kameraden, etc. With chorus and orchestra.

VRS 9048—[illegible]RMON ISRAELI FOLK SONGS. Vol. 1—Hava Nagila, VeDavid Roah Veroah, etc.

FOLK FESTIVAL AT NEWPORT

VRS 9063—VOLUME II: ODETTA (Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, Cotton Fields at Home, Bald Mountain and Water Boy), **JOAN BAEZ, BOB GIBSON** (Virgin Mary Had One Son, We Are Crossing the Jordan River), **THE NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS** (Beware, O Take Care, When First Into This Country I Came, Hopalong Peter), **BARBARA DANE** (Little Maggie, Dink's Blues), **SONNY TERRY & BROWNIE McGHEE** (My Baby Done Changed The Lock on the Door, Pick a Bale of Cotton).

Classical

VRS 1025—THE VIRTUOSO OBOE—Andre Lardrot, soloist, with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, Prohask, cond. Includes Oboe Concerto, Handel; Oboe Concerto in G Minor, Haydn; Concerto in C Major, Albioni, etc.

BG 604 — MADRIGAL MASTERPIECES: The Renaissance in France, Italy and England; Alfred Deller and the Deller Consort.

VRS 1057—BONBONS AUS VIEN, The Boskovsky Ensemble; Old Vienna Dances in their original scoring, with selections from Mozart, Schubert, Strauss, etc.

BG 564—VIVALDI, THE FOUR SEASONS; Tomasow; I solisti di Zagreb. Antonio Janigro, cond.

Best Sellers To Be! Just Out

VRS 9094—JOAN BAEZ, Vol. 2—Banks of the Ohio, Wagoner's Lad, Pal of Mine, Barbara Allen, etc.

VRS 1071—VIRGIL THOMPSON—Music conducted by Leopold Stokowski and the Symphony of the Air, includes The Plow That Broke the Plains, The River (Suite), etc.

VRS 9095—TOUCHDOWN, U.S.A.—"Big Ten" and other great college marches played by the University of Michigan Band.

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

Description of Item	Amount

(N.Y.C. buyers add 3% sales tax)

TOTAL

Orders filled only in the U.S.

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Please make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

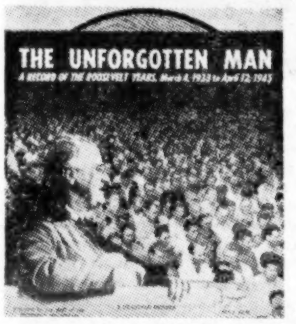
Name ....

Address ....

City .... Zone ..... State ....

When ordering items in color, always specify second color choice.

Some Unusual Recordings for Holiday Listening



A record of The Roosevelt Years, 1933 to 1945, performed by outstanding actors, soloists & chorus.
Recorded for Guardian—$3

$3.50 each—3 for $10

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS relates his life and activities to Moses Asch. This recorded autobiography is one of the most inspiring and important records ever made. Folkways has prepared an 8-page booklet with the complete text of Dr. Du Bois' words, plus photos of memorable events in his life, to accompany the record **FH-5521**

DR. LINUS PAULING gives an authoritative analysis of "Fallout and Nuclear Warfare" in a warm, chatty style spiced with wry humor. This record is a "must" for all peace fighters **V-15020**

SONGS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1961). **Pete Seeger** leads in the Songs of the Lincoln Brigade. **Ernst Busch** leads in six songs for democracy. Among the poignant reminders are: If You Want to Write Me; The Fifth Regiment; The Peat-Bog Soldiers; The Four Generals **FH-5436**

BALLADS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, composed and sung by **Woody Guthrie.** I Just Want to Sing Your Name; Red Wine; Your Souls of Boston; Vanzetti's Rock; Vanzetti's Letter; Old Judge Thayer; Sacco's Letter to his Son (words by Nicola Sacco, music by Pete Seeger). Accompanying illustrated booklet includes words, music and documentary materials **FH-5485**

POETRY OF THE NEGRO, read by SIDNEY POITIER—A treasured addition to any library. Fifteen poems by Paul Dunbar, James Weldon Johnson, Countee Cullen, Langston Hughes, Gwendolyn Brooks, Carl Holman and Armand Lanusse read by the actor. A NEW GBS PRICE $3.50

Children's Records
$3.75 each — 3 for $10

VRS 9042—THE BABY SITTERS—Folk Songs for Children and Parents—Songs include: Come On and Join the Game, Fiddle-I-Dee, Bobby Shafto, Where's Miss Pinky, Alouette, Counting Sheep, etc.

VRS 9053—SONGS AND FUN WITH THE BABY SITTERS—Skip To My Lou, There's a Hole in the Bucket, Pretty and Shiny-O, Get Along Little Doggies, Clap Your Hands, Bye-o Baby Bye, etc.

WC 301—TOM GLAZER CONCERT with and for **CHILDREN**; One of America's finest folk singers in an actual performance with children.
12" L.P. $3.75

WC 303 — "SOMETIME -- ANYTIME": Words and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McCayle, vocalist, Lee Reynolds (from Popeye TV), Charlie Byrd on the guitar, plus flute, harmonica, percussion and piano. Charming, refreshingly original—sure to give many hours of enjoyment to youngsters.
12" L.P. $3.75

25 FOLKWAYS FAVORITES

Selected by Irwin Silber

(Editor: SING OUT)

Here are 25 great Folkways Records which belong, in the opinion of the editor of Sing Out, **the Folk Song Magazine, in every folk library. Prices as indicated, or any three records, 10" or 12", for $10.**

FA2011—TALKING DUST BOWL; The original Dust Bowl ballads; sung by Woody Guthrie, including So Long, Talking Dust, Tom Joad, Dust Bowl Refugee, etc. 10"" record. **$3.75**

FA2013—RAILROAD SONGS, sung by Cisco Houston with guitar, including 900 Miles, Wreck of the '97, Hobo Bill, and many more. 10" record. **$3.75**

FA2030—BLUES, by Brownie McGhee. One of the authentic great blues singers of our time sings Good Morning Blues, Worried Mind, Betty and Dupree, etc. 10". **$3.75**

FA2035—SONNY TERRY, harmonica and vocal solos; our greatest blues harmonica player sings his most famous songs, including Lost John, Beautiful City, Women Blues, etc. 10". **$3.75**

FA2301—CHILDREN'S BALLADS IN AMERICA, sung by Jean Ritchie. 12". **$4.25**

FA2312—SONGS OF THE SEA; with Alan Mills and the Shanty Men; Rio Grande, Haul Away Joe, Shenandoah, etc. ". . . **one of the most comprehensive selections to be found on any one L.P.**"—American Record **Guide.** 12". **$4.25**

FA2319 — AMERICAN BALLADS, sung by Pete Seeger; traditional ballads and folk songs, including Pretty Polly, Barbara Allen, John Henry, Jay Gould's Daughter, and many more. 12". **$4.25**

FA2326—BIG BILL BROONZY, COUNTRY BLUES; one of the great blues singer of all time sings In the Evening, Trouble in Mind, Frankie & Johnny, etc. "**First-rate**"—N.Y. **Times.** 12". **$4.25**

FA2393—MICKEY MILLER Sings American Folk Songs; 16 folk favorites sung in traditional style, harmony and guitar accompaniment by Bess Hawes, incl. Ashville Junction, Wildwood Flower, etc. 12". **$4.25**

FA2396—THE NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS, Vol. 1; an exciting folk song group in a remarkable recreation of oldtime tunes including Brown's Ferry Blues, Battleship of Maine, etc. 12". **$4.25**

FA2412—PETE SEEGER at CARNEGIE HALL—with Sonny Terry; A remarkable concert of "live" songs: Bells of Rhymney, Ladies' Auxilliary, Bales of Cotton, etc. 12". **$4.25**

FN2501—GAZETTE; Pete Seeger sings topical songs on the world today, including Talking Atom, Pretty Boy Floyd, Dr. Freud, etc. "**Rousing**"—N.Y. **Times.** 12". **$4.25**

FA2942—LEADBELLY'S LAST SESSIONS (Vol. 2); Two 12" records, the final recorded legacy of the great singer. (**NOTE:** This is a two-record album; if ordering **FA2942** you may select only one other record for $10.) **$8.50**

FA2951—ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC, Vol. 1 (Ballads); Includes Carter Family, Uncle Dave Macon and others. 12". **$4.25**

FH5251 — AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL BALLADS, sung by Pete Seeger; songs of working people in the industrial age, from 1804 through the 1950's. 12". **$4.25**

FH5285—TALKING UNION. The original famous album recorded by the Almanac Singers, re-issued on LP with other union songs sung by Pete Seeger and chorus. 12". **$4.25**

FH5436—SONGS OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, Vol. 1: Songs of The Lincoln Battalion, sung by Pete Seeger and group. Plus **Songs for Democracy** sung by Ernst Busch & Chorus. 12". **$4.25**

FD5558—NEW YORK 19; documentary of the sounds of mid-Manhattan, N.Y., including street musicians, movie barkers, etc. By Tony Schwartz. A classic. 12". **$4.25**

FC7501 — WOODY GUTHRIE'S "SONGS TO GROW ON," sugn by Jack Elliot, with complete song texts. 12". **$4.25**

FC7525—SLEEP-TIME; songs and stories by Pete Seeger, a bedtime record for youngsters. "**Delightful**" — Christian Science Monitor. 12". **$4.25**

FW8501—THE SINGING STREETS, childhood memories of Scotland and Ireland by Ewan MacColl and Dominic Behan incl. singing games, election ditties, etc. "**One of the year's best**"—N.Y. **Times.** 12". **$4.25**

FW8732—NEW BRITON GAZETTE; contemporary British songs written and sung by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger. Notes and Texts. 12". **$4.25**

FW8757 — SCOTTISH POPULAR SONGS, sung by Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger. 12". **$4.25**

FW8775 — THE GRAIL SINGERS, sing folk songs from many lands, incl. Poland, Germany, China, South Africa, U.S.A., etc. 12". **$4.25**

RF-1 — THE COUNTRY BLUES, a remarkable collection of oldtime blues from out-of-print 78 rpm discs. Blind Lemon Jefferson, Lonnie Johnson, etc. 12." **$4.25**

WC 302—COME AND SEE THE PEPPERMINT TREE; Lyrics and music by Evelyn D. Lohoefer, Donald McKayle, vocalist. The imagery of the lyrics and tunes, which shifts from simple, folk-like songs to imaginative little tone poems, will stir the creative impulses of child and parent alike. Here's an excellent new "participation" record for children from age four up.
"Highly recommended"
—**Parents Magazine**
12" L.P. $3.75

FC 7526—SONG AND PLAY TIME, with PETE SEEGER—Go in and Out the Window, Here We Go Luby-Loo, She'll Be Coming 'Round the Mountain, Skip to My Lou, Let Us Come In, This Land Is Your Land, etc. **17 songs. 12" LP. . . $3.75**

FC 7020—SCHOOL DAYS — (Songs to Grow On, Vol. II) A collection of American folk songs for children, with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Leadbelly, Adelaide Van Way and Cisco Houston. Songs: Fire Down Below, Skip To My Lou, Cape Cod Chantey, Rock Island Line, By'm By, All the Pretty Horses, Go Tell Aunt Rhody, Grey Goose, Mary Wore a Red Dress. **With text of songs. 10" LP . . $3.25**

FC701—AMERICAN FOLK SONGS FOR CHILDREN, with Pete Seeger; fine for singalong, or just listening; includes Jim Crack Corn, Frog Went Hunting, etc. 10". **$3.75**

FC 7532—FOLK SONGS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE—Skip to My Lou, Blow the Man Down, Washer Lad, Motherless Child, Old Smoky, Could Be a Wonderful World, So Long.

FC 7738—HOLIDAY SONGS OF ISRAEL, sung by Guela Gill, incl. songs for Chanukah, Rosh Hashana, Purim, Pesach.

FC 7752—THE GLORY OF NEGRO HISTORY, a documentary with script by Langston Hughes, narration with music & songs.

BUREAUCRACY IS THREATENING THE HISTADRUT AND KIBBUTZIM

Trends in Israel menace socialist tradition

By Kumar Goshal

THE STATE OF ISRAEL is an established fact today. To the Zionist, it is the fulfillment of the dream of a Jewish homeland. To the non-Zionist sympathizer, the establishment of the state is a logical outcome of the fact that Palestine was the only place where the Jews could go to escape persecution from the Nazis. Those Israelis who had hoped for a binational Arab-Jewish state realize that the wheels cannot be turned back; they now work for equality and harmony between the Jews and Arabs in Israel and for friendly cooperation between Israel and its neighbors.

Increasing stability has contributed to Israel's growth, but has brought new problems. In the wake of industrialization and greater prosperity, an urban culture, careerism and the lure of desk jobs seem to be threatening the values cherished by the pioneers and still esteemed outside of the cities. Capitalist tendencies are encroaching, though the dominant Mapai Party pays lip service to democratic socialism. Now that the state is stronger, there is talk of dealing with hostile Arab neighbors from "a position of strength."

THE PIONEERS: All this is affecting the kibbutzim (collective settlements) and the Histadrut (Israeli labor federation), which most progressive Israelis regard as the twin pillars of socialism and democracy in Israel. Both organizations came into being long before the state of Israel was born. Both, in fact, were indispensable to the fulfillment of the dream of a Jewish homeland.

Fifty years ago 12 young men and women went to the Jordan Valley and established the first kibbutz, Degania. Today there are 230 kibbutzim, with 85,000 people. About a third of these, with a third of the Kibbutz population, is affiliated with Mapai. Another third, with a slightly larger population, is affiliated with the left-socialist Mapam Party.

ISRAELI FARMERS ARE PROUD OF THEIR COOPERATIVE PRODUCT
But city life is a magnet for some of the youth

The kibbutz was in the fullest sense a pioneering organization. It brought urbanized young Jews from the West close to the land, put intellectuals to working with their hands. It was and remains a voluntary effort by idealists to build from the ground up a Jewish homeland on the foundations of self-labor, cooperation, mutual aid, equality, democracy and social justice.

All labor in the kibbutzim is equal. No money circulates in the kibbutzim. Each member contributes his own skill and receives from the community what he needs. To free both parents for fruitful labor, children are taken care of by kibbutz members trained for the role. In some kibbutzim, in deference to the wishes of mothers, children live with thehir parents until the age of 3 or 4.

INDUSTRY, TOO: Registered as a cooperative, the kibbutz buys and sells through a cooperative organization to which all kibbutzim belong. Agricultural at first, many today combine agriculture with industry, producing canned food, plastic goods, plywood, motor scooters, agricultural tools and machinery.

Living conditions vary according to the income of the kibbutz. Life in the new ones is still austere; but in the older ones it is comfortable enough. Mishmar Haemek, one of several kibbutzim I visited, has lovely homes and apartments surrounded by lawns and flowers; efficient schools, an excellent library and an imaginatively designed outdoor theater with a small auditorium on one side and a larger one on the other.

Those who found the kibbutz life too restrictive organized the moshav, in which members of each family live together in their own home, own their own land, but buy farm equipment and market produce cooperatively. There are 322 moshavim with a population of about 100,000. Generally speaking, during the last decade older immigrants have formed moshavim, while young men and women have been more attracted by kibbutzim.

HISTADRUT ROLE: The Histadrut was founded in 1920, with 4,433 members. Today its activities involve 630,000 men and women who, together with their families, total 1,500,000 persons—70% of Israel's population. Before the state of Israel was established, it performed many of the functions of the state; today 75% of the ministers in the government are members of the Histadrut. Some of the ablest leaders of the Histadrut and its many enterprises are products of the kibbutzim.

At present, the kibbutzim, the moshavim and the Histadrut make a significant contribution to Israel's economy. They constitute 70% of Israel's agriculture, 22% of its industry, 85% of its motor transportation, 45% of its construction and public works. More than a fourth of those gainfully employed work in Histadrut projects. The Histadrut carries on overseas trade and has even contracted for projects in less-developed lands. After a lengthy struggle, led by the minority Mapam members, the Histadrut ranks have been opened to Arab workers.

Complications however, have been developing lately for the kibbutzim and moshavim and the Histadrut. The glamor and comforts of city life have been attracting some young people away from the relatively Spartan life in the collectives and cooperatives. The kibbutzim and moshavim are having financial difficulties. Two-thirds of their investment needs are covered by Jewish Agency and government loans, and they are compelled to seek loans at interest rates as high as 25% annually. City schools no longer extoll the ideals of the kibbutz; students study for professional careers. The Administration is tending to relegate the kibbutzim, with their socialist principles, to a secondary position.

SHIFT IN WORK: Under Mapai domination, an entrenched bureaucracy is threatening to stifle further initiative in the Histadrut, trying to halt the Histadrut's expansion of cooperative economy. Many newcomers from Europe — including the socialist countries — are veering to the professions and services, leaving manual labor to the immigrants from Asia and Africa.

I discussed Israel's problems with many educators, progressive leaders in kibbutzim and the Histadrut, Mapam leaders, progressive Arab leaders and Dr. Moishe Sneh of the Maki (Communist) Party.

Mapam leaders said their kibbutz goal was to eliminate the gap between city and country life. This meant raising the kibbutz standard of living to include the cultural and social benefits available to city dwellers. Some kibbutzim, such as Mishmar Haemek, have reached this stage.

The Mapam leaders expressed awareness that maintenance and spreading of the socialist ideals of the kibbutzim and the Histadrut called for an unceasing political struggle to achieve democracy and equal rights for Jews and Arabs at home and a policy of neutralism in the East-West conflict.

ARAB VIEWPOINT: Arab leader Abdul Aziz Zuabi, Deputy Mayor of Nazareth and a Mapam supporter, said equal rights for the Israeli Arabs was the key to peace between Israel and its Arab neighbors. The "position of strength" policy, he said, was senseless because, although Israel was militarily stronger than its Arab neighbors today, the numerically superior Arabs were bound to grow stronger some day. A policy based on the theory that the Arabs would indefinitely remain feudal and divided was utterly irrational, he said.

Dr. Sneh expressed belief that negotiations for peace with Israel's Arab neighbors would not be too long delayed. He said the policy of Premier David Ben-Gurion and his diehard followers was rapidly reaching a dead end. The Premier once pinned his hopes on British cooperation, but that adventure misfired, Dr. Sneh said. Since then, he said, Ben-Gurion has been cultivating France; but once peace with Algeria is achieved, Dr. Sneh added, France will seek the Arab market and lean toward the Arab countries. The U.S., he commented, has already shifted its emphasis from Israel to the Arabs. Thus the wheel is turning, Dr. Sneh said, leaving Ben-Gurion hardly any alternative to negotiations with the Arab countries, and a compromise on the Arab refugees—such as agreeing to allow a specified number, perhaps 100,000, to return to Israel.

THE COALITION: Of the two parties striving for a socialist Israel, the Communists increased their vote from 27,374 in 1959 to 42,111 in last August's general election, and Mapam from 69,468 to 75,654; but Mapai, despite its setback, garnered more than three times their combined votes. Mapam leaders concede that the four-party front they have formed to negotiate with Mapai for a coalition government is not based on ideological affinity; it is only a one-shot arrangement undertaken to guarantee minimum democratic rights and to restrain one-man rule under Mapai domination. The Communist party supports Mapam proposals in the parliament for the same tactical purpose.

Reuben Arzi, political secretary of Mapam, told me he has been conferring with such left socialists abroad as Italy's Pietro Nenni in an attempt to evolve a "third way to socialism" for Israel. This path, he said, would be Israel's own and would avoid both the anti-Sovietism of the right-wing socialists and any imitation of the Soviet or Chinese methods.

Negro museum will open in Chicago with art show

THE EBONY MUSEUM of Negro History and Art, 3806 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, will be inaugurated on Sunday, Oct. 29, with an exhibition of water colors showing the arts and crafts of Southern plantations from the Index of American Design. Open house will be held from 1 to 6 p.m.

The permanent collection of the museum will house books by and about the American Negro, contemporary paintings, African art, historical relics, and audio-visual materials.

On censorship

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, such as Lawrence Emery's story of the new censorship drive in Congress, on page 5, is what makes the paper special. Your friends need the GUARDIAN too. Do them a favor—send them an introductory sub. Just $1 for 13 weeks.

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY ....

ZONE ..... STATE ....

SUB SENT BY ....

The National Guardian
197 E. 4th St. New York 9

KUMAR GOSHAL

A REPORT ON AFRICA

CHICAGO—
Northside—Sat., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 930 Maple Av., Evanston

MINNEAPOLIS—Tues., Oct. 31 7:30 p.m. Andrews Hotel, 4th and Hennepin Av. GUARDIAN 13th Anniv. Party. Adm. 60c
—Wed., Nov. 1, 3:30 p.m., Murphy Hall Aud., U of Minn. Ausp: Socialist Club.

SAN FRANCISCO—Fri., Nov. 3 ILWU HALL, 150 Golden Gate; Chmn: Vivian Hallinan. Adm. $1. 8:30 p.m.

SONOMA COUNTY — Sat., Nov. 4, 8 p. m., Cotati Women's Club, Cotati.

OAKLAND—Sun., Nov. 5, 11 a.m. Fellowship of Humanity, 411 28th St.

PALO ALTO (Stanford U.) Wed., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. Hall to be announced.

LOS ANGELES—Fri., Nov. 10. Institute of Aerospace Sciences, 7660 Beverly Blvd. at Stanley. Adm. $1

DETROIT—Sun., Nov. 26, Jewish Music Center, 14864 Schaefer H'way. 7:30 p.m.

WATCH THE GUARDIAN FOR OTHER DATES AND PLACES

The French mess

(Continued from Page 1)

hundreds and thousands back to Algeria—will backfire in at least three directions, and will benefit only the FLN.

• Nothing cements the unity of a persecuted group as much as brutal and arbitrary measures of this kind. The reaction of an Algerian businessman, interviewed by a non-government radio station the day of the first demonstrations, was typical: "I have engaged in no political activity in the past, but when I see what is happening tonight, I cannot but give my support to the FLN."

• The repatriated Algerians, who cannot all be kept locked up for long, are natural conscripts for the National Liberation Army.

• The 400,000 Algerians living and working in France support almost one-fourth of the population back home with their paychecks. All those who suffer financial hardship as a result of Paris expulsion measures will almost automatically be brought into the FLN fold too.

FACES IN A POLICE VAN REFLECT FRANCE'S STATE OF HATRED AND TERROR
The roundup of thousands of Moslems in Paris brought the French-Algerian situation to a critical stage

DE GAULLE'S STRATEGY: President de Gaulle, ever since last summer's flare-up of OAS activities, has been credited with the tactic of playing the OAS (the Algeria ultras and the putschists) and the FLN against each other, seeking to impress on the FLN that in the event of a break with France, it would have to face the OAS killers alone. This plan, if it ever existed, has been outdistanced by the latest events. The FLN had already privately stated it is not afraid of handling the OAS in Algeria. It has proved this week also that it is not afraid to face OAS counter-demonstrations in France. For the Algerian independence marches in Paris, if they continue, will soon provoke just such reactions in France, and bring the country as a whole closer to Algeria's pre-civil war fever.

Three years of de Gaulle's Machiavellian wait-and-let-stew tactics—tactics he has raised to a doubtful political art—have hemmed the peace negotiations into a vicious circle of violence which today rings Algeria. Even if, by a miracle, a peace treaty were to be signed tomorrow, it is hard to see how a bloody clash between the two communities can be avoided in Algeria. The question now is whether this clash will not spill over into France.

THE OAS: As the Paris administration continues to treat the OAS putschists with fatherly indulgence, as token arrests are followed by acquittals and token prison terms, OAS headquarters is busy preparing its next action. The reliable, unsensational **Le Monde** on Oct. 20 described the coming OAS putsch with too much detail for the story to be mere conjecture.

The OAS, now that its primitive fascist elements such as Joseph Ortiz and Pierre Lagaillarde are immobilized in Franco Spain, is directed by the prudent politician Raoul Salan. To Salan, the new putsch, in order to succeed (according to **Le Monde**) must not aim at conquering France, an objective beyond its means, but content itself with taking Algiers and Oran, then proclaiming the "Algiers-Oran-French-Republic." It would count on the support of the army and the local population, and the friendly neutrality of the draftees by promising peace through a de facto partition. The general idea then would be to get de Gaulle to acquiesce, or retire to Colombey-les-deux-Eglises. Apparently, a number of responsible political figures, even among the Socialist Party, have warmly encouraged the project.

The point raised by **Le Monde** is one this correspondent has often stressed in the GUARDIAN: Is the government "at last willing to rely more on what remains of the republican forces who are willing to defend the law of the Republic?"

DOMESTIC OPPOSITION: Internal discontent has penetrated most walks of life, from poorly paid workers and civil servants to over-taxed shop owners and underprivileged farmers. It finds a confused echo in Parliament.

Parliamentary opposition has been growing and has shown increasing fits of bad humor since the summer; but at the first tests of strength, it dwindled to a few pious motions. The Chamber of Deputies, under the new Constitution it voted into existence by an overwhelming majority a few years ago, has no power to translate its hostility into anything but ineffectual speeches and impotent votes. But in a series of party congresses in late September and October, the various left and center-left parties were supposed to unveil their true feelings and intentions.

If any one really hoped for a renewal of the parliamentary concept and practice, he could only have been disappointed. The same old party machines turned the same old way, oiled with the same old empty phrases.

ON THE LEFT: As for the "regrouping of the left," the day's slogan in all left-wing party headquarters, it is being paid the same sort of lip service as in pre-de Gaulle times. The Communist Party—along with the small SP left-wing splinter PSU, of which Mendès-France is the spokesman—is the only one to propose left-wing unity without strings. Once again, the CP's numerical strength and the ardor of its militants play against it. The Radicals and MRP, and especially the SP (having forgotten nothing and learned nothing since 1958) will have nothing in common with the CP. At a recent SP-PSU discussion, SP leader Mollet declared he would link up with the CP "only if the ultras take power." Unity, if the SP leaders have their way, will come true again only in the concentration camps.

The only real hope for left-wing unity seems, once again, to be up to the rank and file.

NEW YORK NEW YORK NEW YORK

Demonstrate for Siqueiros!

DAVID ALFARO SIQUEIROS, famed, 64-year-old Mexican muralist, has been imprisoned in Mexico City for nearly fifteen months, charged with "social dissolution" under a catch-all Mexican "Smith Act." Now dangerously ill, he is threatened with a 15-year sentence, expected to be imposed by November 1st. Will you join other friends of freedom in protest against the inhumanity of the illegal imprisonment of this world-renowned artist?

MONDAY, OCT. 30 4:30 to 6 P.M. U.N. PLAZA
42nd St. and 1st Ave.

Contributions are needed to send a delegation to Mexico within the next few weeks to convey international concern to the President of Mexico. Funds may be sent to:
BETTY MILLARD, TREAS. U.S. FRIENDS OF MEXICO
BOX 73, VILLAGE STATION, NEW YORK 14, N.Y.

MINNEAPOLIS

KUMAR GOSHAL
just returned after a 17-week tour of Africa, India and Israel, will give a
REPORT ON AFRICA
TUESDAY, OCT. 31
ANDREWS HOTEL
4th and Hennepin Ave.
To Celebrate the Guardian's 13th Anniversary
7:30 P.M. ADM. 60c
Refreshments

LOS ANGELES

INSURANCE BY
THE BOROUGHS
and Associates
Rube & Madeleine BOROUGH
Julius & Florence KOGAN

5921 W. Olympic Blvd., L.A. 36
WEbster 8-9111

INSURANCE
for honest, competent counsel on **ALL** your needs consult
BEN KARR
ALBERT C. BRICKER & ASSOCIATES
Complete Insurance Service
760 S. Park View St., L. A. 57
DUnkirk 2-7331

LOS ANGELES

KUMAR GOSHAL
Foreign Affairs Editor, The GUARDIAN, just returned after a 17-week tour of Africa, India, and Israel, will give
A REPORT ON AFRICA
Plus *"Report From Cuba"* (On Tape) by
Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN Editor-in-Exile
FRIDAY, NOV. 10 8 P.M.
CHAIRMAN: JANET STEVENSON, Author
INSTITUTE OF AEROSPACE SCIENCES
7660 Beverly Blvd., corner of Stanley
Ample Free Parking Donation $1 Students 50c
Auspices: Los Angeles National Guardian Committee

CHICAGO

IN CHICAGO
Insurance—Every Kind
Professional Service
Plus Personal Interest
LEON KATZEN
330 S. Wells Street Chicago
HArrison 7-5496

CHICAGO

CHICAGOANS
FOR SECURE PROTECTION: Phone
LOU BLUMBERG
HArrison 7-5496
INSURANCE FOR HOME OR BUSINESS - LIFE - AUTO - FIRE - HEALTH
330 S. WELLS STREET

Do your Holiday shopping with Guardian Buying Service!

UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM Presents
HARRY BRIDGES, President I.L.W.U.
on "Peace and the Unemployment Problem"
FRI., NOV. 10
8 P.M. — Donation $1.
First Unitarian Church
2936 W. 8th St., L.A.
Question Period

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.
M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell
OPTICIAN
610 S. Broadway Los Angeles
Suite 405 MAdison 2-3530
QUICK SERVICE—LOW PRICES
Park Free—1 hr., Pershing Sq. Gar.

BOOKS

Of Matthews and Cuba

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS is one of modern journalism's most embattled figures. A veteran of 39 years on the New York **Times**, he served as a correspondent in Europe and Africa, withstood the brickbats for his coverage of the war in Abyssinia (on the Italian side) and the Spanish Civil War (on the Loyalist side). He came back from the wars to become a member of the editorial board of the **Times**—which means he sits in on editorial page discussions and writes all editorials on Latin American affairs. He also does special assignment reporting on occasion in the Caribbean nations and in Latin America.

One of these special assignments took him into Cuba, which he knows and loves; and a very special set of circumstances led him in February, 1957, to a secret rendezvous in the Sierra Maestra with a young revolutionary named Fidel Castro, generally accepted as dead, who came back to life and to the world with a still-reverberating explosion when Matthews' interview with him was published in the **Times** on Feb. 25, 1957.

The interview set off shock waves also in the direction of the interviewer and it made Matthews, according to the **Christian Science Monitor**, "the most controversial figure to have come out of Cuba besides Fidel Castro." How this came about is the tale Matthews tells in his seventh book, **The Cuban Story.***

THIS IS a curious book—disjointed, defensive and aggressive in turn, interspersed with galloping quotes from the classics and with a once-over-lightly history of U. S. relations with Latin America. Yet at the same time it contains some remarkable journalism, including the famous Castro interview in full, pertinent comments on American exploitation of our good neighbors, some neat jabs at American diplomats and diplomacy, and a much-needed boot in the pants of American journalism.

This book says almost more about Herbert Matthews than it does about Fidel Castro; it might well be called "The Matthews Story," with a subtitle, "My Life With the New York **Times**."

I would recommend this book if only to counter the spiteful review of it in Matthews' own paper, written by Charles Poore, whose major intellectual equipment seems to be a precocious sneer. But it has much more to recommend it. When Matthews records his talks and travels with Castro, the book is first-hand reporting at its best. There emerges a picture of Cuba and the Cuban people written with

Miller in the Des Moines Register
Our world prestige is very high —and dry

love; there is sorrow for their torment and their torture, exasperation with some of their ways, and cheers for their aspirations. No question that Matthews admired Fidel and felt about him as a proud but worried father might feel about a brilliant, courageous, headstrong son.

When Matthews lets fly at our former ambassadors, sent, as Sir Henry Wotton put it a few hundred years ago, to lie abroad for their commonwealth, he's good reading. He calls former Ambassador Arthur Gardner a liar, and suggests that Ambassador Earl E. T. Smith was an untutored political payoff. (What he omits is that Smith is an intimate of President Kennedy who had Kennedy's ear on Cuba. What does that make Jack?)

BUT WHEN MATTHEWS records his conclusions about Castro, based on second-hand reports from many of the same news sources he condemns, he emerges as something of a split personality. Castro, he says, never was a Communist—certainly not before 1960—and he doubts he is today. But he has moved so far into the Russian-Chinese orbit that he'll just have to be destroyed. It's our fault that he's that way, but it's his own fault too. But if he is destroyed, it won't make any difference because his impact on Cuba, and on Latin America, is permanent. We have got to change our policies toward Cuba and Latin America or other Latin nations will follow Cuba. But we won't change.

The sensitive, humanistic, magnetic Fidel that Matthews knew in person becomes at a distance and in time a ruthless dictator (no proof). The "pleasant" Raul Castro becomes a red bully boy (who may not be red after all). And the ideals of the Revolution have been sacrificed for personal power (a conclusion which runs head on into Matthews' own picture of the remarkable benefits for the people produced by an incorruptible leadership).

If this sounds confusing, I am sorry, but that's the way it came out for me.

This is not to suggest that Matthews is dishonest. Far from it: his earnest attempt to put things down as he sees them is painfully apparent. And his appraisal of his colleagues on the coverage of Cuba is too sharp to lay him open to the charge of currying favor with them. He knows and says, as did Walter

Hoy, Havana

Millis before him, that "much of this so-called news was collected in Havana bars and hotel lobbies." He says:

"We have been seeing an intricate mechanism of news coverage and editorial opinion operating to create and heighten tensions and antagonisms between Cuba and the United States and, at the same time, building up a hostile public opion . . . ."

U.S. press reports, he says, were completely lacking in understanding, and it is only understanding that gives the right to criticize: "American coverage was, instead, distorted, unfair, ill-informed and intensely emotional."

WAS THIS by directive? No, says Matthews: "By reasonable and practical standards we do have a free press, and it was not hostile to Cuba because it was paid or ordered to be." If this is so, then it goes to the heart of the matter. In a sea of journalistic conformity, Matthews' lonely figure is like a beacon of understanding. But there is a further point of understanding for Matthews to achieve if his personality is to heal its own breach, and I believe it is this:

The tragedy of American journalism is that the journalists have done what they have done—and continue to do in Cuba and elsewhere — **without** directive. They have, with rare exceptions, adopted as a personal and professional code the premise that the Cold War Establishment is God, and therefore good, and that all opposition to it is anti-Christ. In this framework, journalistic integrity, of which Matthews speaks with intense feeling, becomes a mocking cliche.

—James Aronson

**THE CUBAN STORY*, by Herbert L. Matthews. George Braziller, Inc., 215 Park Ave. South, N. Y. 3, N. Y. 318 pp. $4.50.*

Cuban publishers in exile object, but not objectively

AT THE FIRST ASSEMBLY in 11 years of the Inter-American Press Assn. in New York, six exiled Cuban publishers submitted a resolution criticizing Herbert L. Matthews. The resolution submitted Oct. 17, said Matthews "has been praising Fidel Castro with unbreakable persistence" and had just published a book in which he "reproduces and reiterates all the infamies that international communism hurls against the Cuban newspapers for the purpose of justifying their seizure by the Red government."

That morning the New York **Times** in an editorial suggested that IAPA had found itself "driven from journalism into politics as it did its best to bring about the downfall of the Castro Government . . ." The editorial presumably was written by Matthews.

On Oct. 18 Matthews addressed the assembly and criticized the IAPA for its "obsession" with Cuba. He said that he and the New York **Times** opposed Castro, but that neither he nor the **Times** was the issue. The real issue, he said, was "whether an individual has the right to hold and express in his writings ideas that differ from yours, whether a newspaper has the right to express editorially opinions that differ from a majority of the IAPA."

The exiled publishers' resolution was not acted upon. But the assembly unanimously indorsed a report by its Freedom of the Press Committee charging "a conspiracy directed by the government of Cuba to subvert and lead to the seizure of the press of the Americas by the Communists." The report was based on purported official Cuban documents brought to light in Buenos Aires. The day before the IAPA assembly indorsed the committee report, the Argentine government denounced the documents as fraudulent.

CHICAGO

HEAR
Kumar Goshal
just returned after a 17-week tour of Africa, India and Israel, give a
REPORT ON AFRICA
NORTHSIDE — SATURDAY, Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 930 Maple Av., Evanston.

NEW YORK

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY RALLY
Guest Speakers:
JULIO MEDINA, P.R. Dir., 26th of July Movement
WILLIAM A. PRICE, Coord., 1958 Ind.-Soc. Campaign
JEAN RUBINSTEIN, Founding Member, Am. Labor Party
And the Socialist Workers Mayoralty ticket
FRI., OCT. 27 8:30 P.M.
HOTEL ALBERT
Univ. Pl. & 11th St.
Auspices: Cont. $1.
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

What next, America?
"Let's industrialize the entire world . . . provide abundance to all peoples . . . beyond the scale enjoyed by the richest . . . 96 easy-to-read pages." — John T. McManus, Manager, NATIONAL GUARDIAN.
SUMMIT PRESS, P. O. BOX 5047
San Francisco 1, California
Please send me ...... copies of The Key to Peace and Plenty, by Elsa Peters Morse, at the discount price of $1. I am enclosing $ ....
NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY .... ZONE ...... STATE ....

POLITICAL AFFAIRS
— OCTOBER ISSUE —
THE CRITICAL WAR DANGER, by James S. Allen
THE CHANGING STRUCTURE OF THE U.S. WORKING CLASS, by J. M. Budish
CONTRASTING VIEWS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY by Herbert Aptheker
SOVIET POLICY ON TESTING AND DISARMAMENT, by N. S. Khrushchev
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, AMERICAN WORKING-CLASS LEADER, by Gus Hall
IN DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACY, by Carl Winter
PEACE WITH GERMANY: PEACE FOR THE WORLD, by Gusta Fuchikova
35c a copy • Subscription $4
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS,
832 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

U. S. in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

standable if these men wanted to make an expedition to "liberate the South." But they don't. In late 1960 the Lao Dong Party (Workers Communist) of Vietnam passed a resolution on the matter. This party includes both North and South, the northern delegates being regularly elected, while the southern delegates are holdovers from elections before 1954, who came from the South but are now in the North.

The resolution, adopted unanimously, said the "liberation of South Vietnam" must be done by the people living there, while the task of North Vietnam was to build a sound economic base for the prosperity of the entire country, to share with the South when the South frees itself.

One of these Southerners said to me: "The North must not send armed aid to the South, for this would break the Geneva Agreement, by which we hold international recognition of Vietnam as a unified, sovereign nation; and also because it would widen war in Southeast Asia, which we must not do." He added: "The Southerners are good fighters. They can best Ngo without outside aid."

THE U.S. ROLE: "But it is hard," he said, "that in all the years when we fought French imperialism, the decent people of France never knew about it, and now that we fight American imperialism, the decent Americans are not allowed to know."

The struggle against Ngo is conducted by the South Vietnam National Liberation Front, which has its own flag, publishing houses and many periodicals. The flag resembles that of North Vietnam with some difference; the North Vietnam flag has a gold star on a red field, while that of the Liberation Front has a gold star on a field horizontally divided, red above and blue below.

This flag flies over 32 "liberated areas" in South Vietnam, the greatest part of the countryside. It flies over mass meetings of 20,000 people in the Liberation Front. In the "liberated areas" the peasants elect their own governments, refuse to receive Ngo's appointees or to pay taxes to Ngo.

Ngo sends governors to provincial capitals and county chiefs to county towns; they remain in their posts only as long as they have plenty of armed support. The Liberation Press says that 90% to 96% of the villages have been "liberated" from Ngo, and that 10,000 civil servants and 50,000 of Ngo's troops have "come over to the people."

LABOR CAMPS: In 1959 Ngo, with U.S. advisers, made a plan to break up the "liberated areas" by armed force and deport the peasants to "resettlement areas," often placed near the many U.S. bases and strategic highways, to serve as labor power. These places were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by troops. When the peasants fought the deportations, Ngo launched operations against large areas in which regular troops, commandos, artillery and planes were used, the U.S. supplying the planes, the bombs and the napalm.

This may well be a picture of the future for American GIs if the U.S. presses its policies in South Vietnam. These grim, U.S.-armed marines serving Ngo Dinh Diem seem pretty miserable about their assignment to hunt guerrillas in the swampland. Aside from the risks of warfare, the marines face the hostility of almost all the peasants.

The Liberation Front says 2000 such operations were carried out by Ngo against rural areas in 1960.

Two examples will show the peasants' reaction. A resettlement center was being built on a plateau in an area of national minorities. The land seized for it by Ngo forces had been distributed to local people years ago during the resistance to France; they had tilled it and erected buildings on it. Groups from five villages went to the resettlement center May 21, 1961, to demand compensation for their land and buildings. Ngo's police fired on them, killing five and wounding 22. Then residents of 64 villages turned out in a mammoth demonstration demanding that Ngo resign and that the Americans get out of Vietnam.

The first armed seizure by the peasants of a provincial capital was reported Sept. 26, 1961, by the Liberation Press, from which I quote. In Phuoc Vinh, 50 miles northeast of Saigon, the provincial governor, Major Nguyen, was a "notorious butcher" who not only made "raids" against villages but was credited with "more than 100 killings by his own hand."

GOVERNOR KILLED: In darkness early Sept. 18, "the people's self-defense forces" entered the city and "annihilated" the 1,700 commandoes there. Those killed included the governor, the vice governor, and the security police chief. The peasants freed 33 persons. They took "all weapons and military equipment, including "several tons of U.S. ammunition."

This, of course, is already war, a war which Ngo and his American backers are losing. The British journal, the **Economist,** May 7, 1961, said the Vietnamese peasants had so successfully fought the resettlement camps that the original plan of the U.S. advisers for 115 settlements had been cut to 85, of which only 42 were built. Of these 42, the peasants destroyed 28.

Walter Lippmann wrote in May, 1961: "Ngo still holds the cities, but has all but lost control of the countryside." He explained: "Our man is extremely unpopular, being both reactionary and corrupt."

SPECIAL PLAN: Despite this situation, Vice President Lyndon Johnson rushed to Saigon last May and agreed to increase military aid to Ngo almost without limit. Senator Henry Jackson (Dem-Wash.) declared May 14 that the U.S. "must pay whatever price is necessary to hold South Vietnam." A "special plan," said to have been seen and approved by President Kennedy, involved almost doubling the armed forces, drafting all educated men between 25 and 35 for training as officers. **Newsweek** revealed Aug. 14 that the Pentagon would send "some of its latest, most wonderful weapons." **Time** magazine said Aug. 4 that "the Americans still think the agrovilles a good idea and agree to finance the construction of 115 more of them in 1962." "Agrovilles" are those resettlement camps fought by the peasants.

Meanwhile, under U.S. advice, Ngo's regime has started war provocations against North Vietnam by land, sea and air. **Time,** Aug. 4, boasted of the new U.S.-trained commandos being sent via Laos for guerrilla raids against North Vietnam villages. On Aug. 5 Hanoi officially protested to the International Control Commission in Saigon that 30 Ngo patrol boats were invading North Vietnam's waters, stealing fishing boats. And on July 2, a U.S.-made South Vietnam plane intruded 250 miles into North Vietnam, where it was brought down. Captured documents and statements of survivors indicated the plane carried commandos and secret agents trained by the U.S. advisers for guerrilla war in North Vietnam, on a plan made by the U.S. Military Aid Group in Saigon. These are the "guerrilla tactics" for which the Kennedy regime has shown enthusiasm. So far Hanoi had made no armed retaliation.

This is the way America "lost" China. This is the way Harriman is losing Laos, and Kennedy is losing South Vietnam. Unless the American people fight such policies, they may find themselves in a full-sized war.

SAN FRANCISCO

Hear KUMAR GOSHAL
Foreign Affairs Editor, The GUARDIAN, just returned after 17 weeks in Africa, India and Israel, give
A REPORT ON AFRICA
FRIDAY, NOV. 3 8:30 P.M.
CHAIRMAN: VIVIAN HALLINAN
ILWU Hall, 150 Golden Gate Ave. ADM. $1
And in Oakland—
SUNDAY, NOV. 5 11 A.M.
Church of the Fellowship, 411 28th St.

NEW YORK

75th Anniversary of Statue Of Liberty
Special Concert Of Nationalities
Prof. Louise Pettibone SMITH
will speak on
"The McCarran Act and the Anniversary"
SUNDAY OCT. 29
2 P.M. ADM. $1.50
Fraternal Clubhouse
110 W. 48th St., N.Y.C.
Call or Write—
American Committee For Protection Of Foreign Born
49 E. 21st St. OR 4-5058

NEW YORK

THE HOUR OF DECISION
PEACE or NUCLEAR WAR?
You are urged to
RALLY FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP
Sunday, November 12 7:30 P.M.
Carnegie Hall
SPEAKERS: GEN. HUGH B. HESTER, U.S. Army, Ret.
DR. JEROME DAVIS, Educator & Author
ROCKWELL KENT, Artist and Author
Auspices:
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

RESORTS

please write!
We have dozens of reservations for the Xmas holidays but what about **Thanksgiving? Are you planning a 4-day weekend,** or do you always stay home and make your wife slave over a big dinner for your relatives? Please write!
CHAITS
Accord 1, N.Y. Kerhonkson 7373

NEW YORK

JACK R. BRODSKY
ANY KIND OF INSURANCE
auto, fire, burglary, life, annuities, accident, hospitalization, compensation, etc. Phone: GR 5-3826
799 Broadway, N.Y.C. 3. (11th St.)

Salute

GLENDORA, CALIF.

I have always appreciated receiving the GUARDIAN but felt especially appreciative lately. How very refreshing to read articles by Cedric Belfrage from Cuba, Kumar Goshal, Anna Louise Strong and all the others on timely subjects.

A salute to the GUARDIAN! You deserve the highest tribute—after all the phony stuff we listened to on TV about Cuba.

Esther Langlois

HOLD THIS DATE!
WED., DEC. 6, 8 P.M.
for a RALLY to
ABOLISH
The House Un-American Activities Committee
Manhattan Center
34th St. & 8th Ave.
Auspices: N.Y. COUNCIL and YOUTH TO ABOLISH HUAC

• APTHEKER will speak • MARGARET McCADDEN will sing • THE WORKER will be celebrated • WILLIAM PATTERSON will be honored
at the
ANNUAL BANQUET for
THE WORKER
SAT., OCT. 28 7:30 P.M.
St. Nicholas Center
66th St. at Columbus Ave.

Feel free! Resorts advertising in the Guardian welcome guests of any race, creed or color!

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

RUSSIAN MOVIES EVERY WEEK!
Fri. & Sat., 8 p.m. Sun., 3 p.m.
Russian Arts Club 2952 North Ave.
Oct. 27-29: THE INSPECTOR GENERAL
Nov. 3-5: CHILDHOOD OF MAXIM GORKY (remainder of autobiography Nov. 17-19 & Dec. 1-3).

BILL OF RIGHTS SUPPER—Sun., Nov. 12, 5:30 p.m. at 800 S. Halsted St.; Guest speakers: Anne Braden, Burton White, Calif. student leader. Sponsor: Chi. Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Reservations $2 50 per plate. Call: DE 2-7142 or write 189 W. Madison, Rm. 811, Chicago 2, Ill.

LOS ANGELES

Make Reservations Now for the 11th ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER honoring the Legal Panel & Public Officers. SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, 6:30 p.m.
PARK MANOR BALLROOM
607 South Western Av.
Cultural Program: Miss Emily McKnight, soprano, will sing folk & classical songs; Waldemar Hille, piano accompanist. Talented young violinist in classical program. Guest speaker: Atty. JOSEPH FORER, Wash., D.C. Rev. STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN Master of Ceremonies. Delicious dinner will be served. Res. $15. per person. Reservations being taken now at offices of L.A.-Comm. for Prot. of For. Born, 326 W. 3 St., Rm. 318, L.A. 13, Calif. Phone: MAdison 5-2160.

TWO SUNDAY CLASSES
Session I
MARXIAN ECONOMICS & CAPITALISM TODAY
Current Economic Thinking in the light of Marxian theories by
Theodore Edwards, Socialist Writer & Lecturer
1—Sun. Nov. 5—Marginal Utility & the Labor Theory of Value
2—Sun., Nov. 12—Automation & Unemployment
3—Sun., Nov. 19—Keynes & the Business Cycle
4—Sun., Nov. 26—Galbraith & the "Welfare" State
Session II
Four Discussion Sessions on Program and Strategy in the Struggle for Negro Liberation in America by Negro Affairs Committee of L.A. Militant Labor Forum
1—Nov. 5—Contributions of Marxist Parties, S.P., C.P., and S.W.P.
2—Nov. 12—The Class Struggle and Negro Liberation
3—Nov. 19—New Trends in the Negro Struggle
4—Nov. 26—The Marxist Program—The Immediate Struggle & the Socialist Goal
ALL SESSIONS AT FORUM HALL, 1702 E. 4 St., Los Angeles. Phone: AN 9-4953
First Session: 11 A.M. to 12:30 P.M.
Second Session: 12:30 P.M. to 2 P.M.
Don.: $1.50 for series, 50c one session.
Auspices: MILITANT LABOR FORUM

NEW YORK

$50 & $65
SUITS, TOPCOATS and OVERCOATS
NOW ONLY
$10 & $15
Several manufacturers were forced out of business, others have gone into bankruptcy, and Harry's has bought up their entire stocks! These garments, made of the finest materials, with superb workmanship, are offered to our thousands of customers at tremendous savings. All sizes — regular, long, short and cadets. Come in and see for yourself.
ALSO—A great selection of boys clothes, sizes to 20.
Come in now for the best choice
HARRY'S Clothes Shop
"The Corner Store"
104 Third Ave., cor. 13th St.
New York City GR 5-9183
Alterations Free 10 a.m.-7 p.m

GENERAL

ACNEMYCIN MEDICATED CREAM $1
For the control and treatment of acne and other skin conditions. Order today at this spectacular price! No C.O.D.'s. No shipping costs to you. Savings up to 50% and more on DRUGS and COSMETICS. Write for free price list.
DISCOUNT PRODUCTS CO.
P.O. Box 124 Freeport, N.Y.

Hold the date!

13TH
ANNIVERSARY DINNER
FRIDAY, NOV. 10
In New York

AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
Theater Party
KIROV LENINGRAD BALLET
Nov. 26 (matinee): Sleeping Beauty
Dec. 1 (evening): Gala Program No. 2.
Institute open Tues., Wed., and Thurs. evenings. 140 N. La Brea Av., Rm. 204, Los Angeles 36, Calif.

Los Angeles Public Meeting on
THE WORLD CONFLICT BETWEEN CAPITALISM & SOCIALISM
44 years after the Russian Revolution
The New Khrushchev Program and the Lenin Program
Speakers: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party and Bennett Tangen, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 11, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Phone: AN 9-4953. Auspices: Los Angeles Locals — Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance.

LONG BEACH

The Long Beach Current Events Forum presents:
DR. MAX SCHOEN, D.D.S.
"Voluntary Health Insurance"
Fri., Nov. 3, 8:15 p.m. Machinists Hall, 728-D Elm Ave. Ed Diebler, Chairman.

NO. CALIFORNIA

MAUD RUSSELL Annual Speaking Tour Northern Calif. area Nov. 7th to Dec. 3rd. Write: Russell, care of Thompson, 363 Lester St., Oakland, Calif. Phone: GL 1-7745.

SAN FRANCISCO

Three gala anniversary celebrations
Sun., Nov. 19, 7:30, 150 Golden Gate Av. Peace reports by Alice & Harvey Richards, Albert Kahn, Aubrey Grossman, Sonia Kaross, Holland Roberts, all newly returned from U.S.S.R. Tickets 50c at American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St.

PHILADELPHIA

SUN., OCT. 29—CUBAN FILMS
April Invasion; Housing Revolution; July 26 Movement Commentators. 2 SHOWINGS: 3 p.m. & 7:30 p.m. Don. $1. Students 75c. Question Period. Militant Labor Forum, 1303 W. Girard Av.

"WORLD PEACE AND CUBA"
Dave Dellinger, editor of Liberation and author of "America's Last Plantation"
Adelphia Hotel, Fri., Oct. 27—8 p.m.
13 & Chestnut Sts. — Don. $1.
Spons.: FPCC, P.O. Box 7971, Phil. 1, Pa.

NEW YORK

75th ANNIVERSARY OF STATUE OF LIBERTY. Special Concert of Nationalities, Sun., Oct. 29, 2 p.m., Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48 St. Participating: Lithuanian Singing Society, Ukrainian Leontovich Chorus, Dnipro Folk Dancers. Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith will speak on the McCarran Act and the 75th Anniversary of the Statue of Liberty. Sponsor: Amer. Comm. Prot. of For. Born.

HOLD THE DATE—DEC. 6
Rally to Abolish HUAC—
See ad, Page 14

ELECTION RALLY—Hear the Socialist Workers Party candidates: Richard Garza for Mayor. Also guest speakers: Julio Medina, Jean Rubinstein, William A. Price. Fri., Oct. 27, 8:30 p.m. Hotel Albert, 11 St. & Univ. Place. Cont. $1.

DISARMAMENT—What is the Prospect? Speaker: IRVING BEININ, of the Conference of Greater N.Y. Peace Groups. Tues., Oct. 31, 8 p.m., 67 2nd Av. (entrance on E. 4 St.) Sponsor: E.P.I.C. Cont. 25c.

BURNING ISSUES FILM COMMITTEE presents JOHN HUSTON's "Treasure of the Sierra Madre" with Humphrey Bogart, Walter Huston, etc., written by B. Traven: Also: Pablo Picasso's "Guernica," narrated by Eva LeGallienne. Sun., Oct. 29, 7 p.m., at 67 2nd Ave. Cont. 75c.

McCARRAN ACT & DEMOCRACY
Meaning of Attempt to Outlaw the Communist Party
Hear: Benjamin J. Davis, Nat'l Sec'y of C.P.
On: Sun., Nov. 5, at 8 p.m.
At: Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn
Ausp: Crown Heights Forum Cont. 50c

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 50c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

VACATION IN ISRAEL
Sun., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Color film, travel tips, music, refreshments. 230 W. 16th St., Apt. 1-A. DA 8-6154, afternoons. Contribution $1.

WORLD BOOKS SATURDAY FORUM
Presents—Prof. Barrows Dunham, noted Philosopher, Author, Educator. Topic: THE ARTIST IN SOCIETY
Sat., Oct. 28 2 p.m. at WORLD BOOKS, 747 Broadway (nr. 8 St.) Adm. 75c. students: 50c

METROPOLITAN FRAT. CLUB MEETS
Fri., Nov. 3, 8:30 p.m.
"GERMANY—1961"
Speakers ...... Discussion
Rm. 11-D, Adelphi Hall, 74—5th Ave.

CLASSIFIED

GENERAL

1,000 Name & Address labels, in reusable plastic case, only $1. Your name and address beautifully printed on quality gummed paper. Free Gift Catalog. W. L. Whiteman, Box 6, Boston 1, Mass.

FOOT MUFFS: Orlon pile lining w. full acrilan high-pile innersole and vinyl outersole. Machine washable, pastel colors. Excellent gifts, made in women's sizes—small 4-5, medium 6-7, large 8-9. $3.99 plus sales tax. R. H. Teeple, R.R.2, Davenport, Iowa.

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN
is now
planning the itinerary
for her
annual cross-country speaking tour
February and March
1962
individuals or organizations
interested
in arranging lectures
are invited
to write for information
about
subjects, fees, and possible dates
ADDRESS
Dr. A. T. Rubinstein
59 W. 71 St., New York 23, N.Y.

PUBLICATIONS

JEWISH CURRENTS — special Jewish Book Month Issue just off the press! Highlights: Morris Schappes on Mila 18, The Last of the Just, Sovetish Heimland; The Stranger at the Table (short story) by Irene Paull; An American Tragedy by Ben Field; Poems by Abraham Reisen and Mordecai Gebirtig; Whither Israeli Sabras? by Joseph Lipsky and Frank Cantor. Subs $4 yearly ($4.50 outside U.S.); single copies 40c. Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St., New York 3, N.Y.

HOUSE FOR SALE

S. NORWALK, CONN. Picturesque, Sound view, interesting waterfront commun. Easy commuting, commun. beach, boat mooring, playgrds, tennis cts., ½ acre landsc., dual level contemp, 4-bdrm, liv. rm., firepl, dining area, pine kitch., appliances, paneled family rm, 2-ceramic tiled bathrms, wkshop, dark room, sundeck, screened storm drs & win, carport, extras. Price reduced to "mid-twenties." Call collect: CA 7-2942 or TE 8-5082.

DETROIT

FOR ALL YOUR INSURANCE NEEDS
Phone TO 5-7500
MARGARET NOWAK
2634 Glendale, Detroit 38, Mich.

LOS ANGELES

JACK FOX, L.A. Guardian representative, will give free one copy of "Clash of Cultures" by the Hallinans, to anyone subscribing or renewing sub to National Guardian. Call WE 3-0114.

DIAL PLUMBING & HEATING, INC.
4802 Santa Monica Blvd.
Emergency 24-hour Service
Water Heaters - Repairs - Remodeling.
Phone: NO 3-9216

STUDIO CITY, CALIF.

The finest in Contemporary Furniture at Sensible Prices
• the hammers — TR 7-6057
12122 Ventura Blvd. ST 6-4081
Studio City, Calif. (L.A. Area)
DUX—SELIG—MOREDDI—McCOBB—RAYMOR

SAN FRANCISCO

RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE
New Radios, TVs, HiFis for Sale
J. ARTHUR RAGSDALE
1526 27th Av. LO 6-4667
Discount to Guardian readers.

RESORTS

The wide horizon at HILLBERG FARM will be enhanced by Fall colors. Don't miss it. Make a date for Thanksgiving. KERHONKSON, N.Y.—TEL: KERHONKSON 8008-W.

HELP WANTED

HEAD COUNSELOR for DAY CAMP fully expd., programming & hiring strong, competent staff. 120, co-ed, 5½ days. Reference, family status, write: Box 385, Ellenville, N.Y.

THE GALLERY

ULTRA CONSERVATIVE Rep. James B. Utt (R-Calif.) showed up at a Republican Women's Club meeting this month waving an Italian-made box he found in a San Diego gift store. The box was designed with an eagle beneath a pennant decorated with a star. "This," Utt said, "is a very clever way to advance the idea that the communist sickle is hovering over the American eagle." Noted art historian Erwin C. Christensen later pointed out that the design is a copy of one by John Bellamy, a 19th Century woodcarver who made designs for the U.S. Navy. He also showed that the Italian design was similar to one on the text book, **A History of Free People.** Utt finally backed down. "It may be a completely American design," he said, "but in the light of things, I thought it was propaganda." . . . At the opening of Clairol's new hair coloring research laboratory, Lawrence Gelb, chairman of the board, said: "In the not-too-distant future, it should be possible for a woman to change her hair color many times a day. She will be able to have it done as easily and effortlessly as changing into a new costume." . . . Agencies we never knew we had: An obituary for Gerald F. P. Dooher said that he was "program executive in the Office of Private Cooperation of the United States Information Agency's Private Enterprise Division"

LT. GOV. WARREN P. KNOWLES, who presides over the Wisconsin Senate, noted these choice remarks at the last session:
Sen. Norman Sussman: "The bankers' pockets are bulging with the sweat of the honest workingmen."
Sen. Casimir Kendziorski: "This is a bill for accountants, figureheads and whatnots."
Sen. Gerald D. Lorge: "That was a blow between the belt."
Sen. Richard J. Zaborski: "My constitutent wrote in an angry tone of voice, and she was justified."
Sen. William F. Trinke: "This is enough to make your head stand on end."
"That's a horse of a different feather."
"I will defend anyone's right to agree with me."
"I'm neither a man nor a mouse."
"That's one of the best maiden speeches he's made all year."
Sen. Raymond C. Bice: "When we get to that bridge, we'll jump."

—Robert E. Light

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS

HOTEL ALBERT, 23 E. 10 St. N.Y.C. (near University Pl.). 400 modern rooms, kitchenette available. Full hotel & maid service. From $4 daily. Moderate weekly & monthly rates. Write for brochure or call OREGON 7-0100.

INSTRUCTION

PRIVATE LESSONS IN ELEMENTARY, INTERMEDIATE, ADVANCED RUSSIAN. MODERN APPROVED METHOD ASSURING RAPID PROGRESS. MODERATE RATES. NINA BALANOVA, SP 7-4836.

Are you interested in a
JEWISH SECULAR EDUCATION
for your child?
THE NEIGHBORHOOD JEWISH CHILDREN'S SCHOOL
offers a program for children from ages 6 to 13.
Jewish History, Literature, Folklore, Meaning of Jewish Holidays, Reading and Writing in Yiddish.
Classes: Tuesday and Thursday, hourly sessions from 2:30 through 6:30 p.m.
868 E. 180th St.
For more information call:
KI 3-1891 between 5 & 7 p.m. and TR 8-9592

HELP WANTED

READING ALOUD to blind person, Saturday afternoons, 3 hours. Phone: CH 3-4891.

CLERK—general office work, male or female, mail order book firm, part or full time, $1.75 per hour. 14 St. vicinity. Write Box C, c/o Guardian, 197 4th St., N.Y.C. 3.

MERCHANDISE

LARGE SAVINGS ON MODERN FURNITURE: Good modern furniture at low markup. Come in and see
SMILOW-THIELLE
N.Y.C. 856 Lexington Av. LE 5-9232
White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Av. WH 8-4788
Manhasset: 2046 Northern Blvd. MA 7-0444
Plainfield, N.J.: 311 E. Front St. PL 7-0111

WAREHOUSE SALE
Our warehouse is bulging and we must unload. SPECIAL LOW PRICES on bulky items: bicycles, refrigerators, air conditioners, luggage, TVs, etc. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Av. (nr. 14 St.) GR 3-7819.

SERVICES

INSURANCE
ALL KINDS
RENE M. SCHENKER
292 Madison Ave., New York 17
MU 3-2837

UPHOLSTERY CRAFTSMAN
RE-WEBBING & REPAIRS—done in your home: Reupholstery, slip covers, drapes, foam rubber cushioning. Serving all boros. Fraternal atttention. HY 3-8899.

CALVIN FORD—UNION MOVER
MOVING STORAGE
Good used furniture for sale.
645 Allerton Av.
Phones: OL 2-6795 and OL 2-9033

MOVING AND STORAGE
EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS
Profit by my 20 years' experience
Call ED WENDEL, JE 6-8000
on any moving problem.

BUSSIE BROTHERS (Union Movers)
Moving, storage local & long distance. We buy and sell new and used furniture. 960 Rogers Avenue, Brooklyn. Phone: BU 4-2988 (24 hours) or BU 2-3398.

BUDGET MOVERS & STORAGE: Ch 3-7312. Station-wagon, vans—pickup service any time, any place—Insured. Estimates given.—Economical—PSC 859.

RED WAGON Moving, storage, packing, crating. Inexpensive, insured professional. Vans, trucks, station wagons. Any time, any place.
RED WAGON SP 7-2555 PSC 768

WE TOTE 'EM
TRUCKING, MOVING, STORAGE, LOCAL, LONG DISTANCE. LOWEST RATES, N.Y. — HI 3-3972

LIGHT MOVING
Short-Long Distance
SILVER WAGON
Call: OR 7-4869

HI FIDELITY SERVICE
On Monaural and Stereo Equipment
Installation and Repairs.
Tuners Aligned.
N. Weintraub IN 1-7459

TELEVISION & AIR-CONDITIONING
UNIVERSITY TELEVISION SERVICE
(Bronx, Manhattan, Yonkers)
150 W. Kingsbridge Rd., Bronx 63, N.Y.
CY 8-0420

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE
Written Guarantee — Itemized Bills
Prompt — Reliable — Reasonable
268 Bleecker St. Phone: WA 9-0813

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL 5-8160

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking for Fall and Winter weddings, bar mitzvah, anniversary parties at home or temple. Office parties & home parties served anywhere in the metropolitan area. HU 7-1561.

If you are thinking of REMODELING YOUR FUR COAT—THE MOST RELIABLE PLACE IS:
MAX KUPERMAN
315 7th Ave. OR 5-7773
Also: Good buys in Alaskan Seal Coats, Mink Stoles in all styles. Phone for appointment.

ROOM FOR RENT

QUIET, WELL FURNISHED RM., Manhattan, elevator, upper West Side, for man or woman. Phone: WA 6-4650, after 8 p.m.

BUSINESS WOMAN will share apt. with same or will rent rm. in elev. apt. house, convenient transportation. Phone evenings, weekends, IN 7-7368.

There was no surrender in the face of this soaked young man when the cops turned the hoses on to break up the famous San Francisco demonstration against the Un-American Activities Committee.

FRANK DONNER'S INDICTMENT

The Un-Americans

OF THE UN-AMERICANS—the exhaustively documented denunciation of the House Committee on Un-American Activities by lawyer Frank Donner, former general counsel to the CIO—playwright - politico Gore Vidal (**The Best Man, Visit to a Small Planet**) wrote for the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** syndicate:

". . . anyone who reads it will agree with Harry Truman that 'the most un-American thing in America is the House Un-American Activities Committee'."

And in Donner's book (p. 244) Dr. John A. McKay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary and moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S., calls HUAC "the 20th Century American version of the 16th Century Spanish Inquisition."

Thanks to **The Un-Americans**, a 60c paperback published this summer by Ballantine Books, 101 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 3, N.Y., a far vaster number of the U.S. citizenry than ever before have the material in print and in hand to judge the foregoing and other stern judgments of HUAC. Of a first printing of 153,000, only a few hundred copies remain in the hands of the publisher. This despite frenzied attacks by broadcaster Fulton Lewis Jr., Hearst's Jack Lotto and other HUAC proponents which resulted in cancellations from bookshops in Cincinnati, Columbus, Oklahoma City, Omaha and Washington, D.C. Of the Fulton Lewis attack the St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** said:

"By ignoring the subject matter and casting aspersions on individuals, he plays the nasty game of guilt by association. And it is a setback for freedom if even one bookseller has been intimidated by such an oblique attack."

EXAMINATION of HUAC's record since its founding under Martin Dies in 1938, by a lawyer of Donner's diligence, necessarily meant searching the record to the bottom of the heap—the biggest heap in the history of congressional committees: more than 50,000 pages of reports and immeasurable stacks of news reports concerning the people and activities investigated with HUAC's more than 5,000 subpenas, another record. Yet HUAC, which is supposed to have a legislative purpose for existence, has in its time produced less legislation than any other Congressional Committee. And during its 16 years (since 1945) as a standing rather than temporary committee, the only legislative fruit of its work has been the Internal Security Act of 1950 and that was enacted as a Senate bill, the McCarran Act, the constitutionality of which is now approaching wholesale challenge.

Thus the facts assembled by Donner make amply clear that HUAC's whole purpose from the start has been exposure and intimidation, with assertion of legislative purpose simply a mask for these activities. What HUAC seeks to expose and intimidate appears in a compilation (p. 21) of its standards over the years. Included are social change, of course; racial equality, planned economy, collectivism, public or communal ownership; and elsewhere it appears that you are un-American if you favor revising the King James version of the Bible.

DONNER by no means makes light of the Committee, although his writing style is tinged with wry humor (for example, p. 246, of the HUAC stoolpigeon Joseph Kornfeder, ". . . a professional witness with a memory sensitively attuned to the prosecutive needs of each particular case.") His 44 pages on the San Francisco hearings which produced the film **Operation Abolition** are must reading for any community faced with combating the film. Though Donner does not make the statement, his arraignment of the facts of the hearings make a prima facie case for the accusation that HUAC staged the hearings and provoked the violence which occurred as material for the ensuing film.

In his San Francisco coverage may be found, also, the full circumstances of the suicide of scientist William K. Sherwood on the eve of a Committee appearance, and the statement of his wife which the Committee refused to let her make, containing the poignant questions:

"Is it a crime for a young man in his 20's to dream of a bright new world? Must the children of our country leave their idealism in the cradle so that their future careers will not be blighted by the Un-American Activities Committee?"

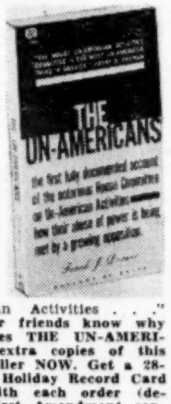
TOLD IN absorbing details also are stories of HUAC's attacks on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, ending in the imprisonment of Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson for their Abolition activities and the contempt citation of ECLC chairman Harvey O'Connor for refusing to honor a HUAC summons; its attack on religious freedom, on the Fund for the Republic for sponsoring a study of blacklisting and other offenses to HUAC standards, and the role of important elements in press, radio and TV in broadcasting HUAC's forays against liberals and progressives. Chapters 12 and 14 on the techniques and aims of HUAC's "exposure formula" contain especially vital information for any groups fighting for HUAC's abolition.

—**John T. McManus**

BOOKS

UN-AMERICANS HATE IT!

While most reviewers hail THE UN-AMERICANS, Rep Walter, on the floor of Congress, called it "scurrilous . . . venomous . . . an outstanding forensic effort that will long remain unmatched in the left-wing catalogue of criminal libel aimed to discredit the Committee on Un-American Activities . . ." Make sure your friends know why the HUAC hates THE UN-AMERICANS. Order extra copies of this 300-page best-seller NOW. Get a 28-page, five-year Holiday Record Card Book FREE with each order (designed by a First Amendment contemptee). Proceeds from book sales will help finance his first Amendment Contempt Case now in the Supreme Court.



J. Gojack, P. O. Box 355
Columbus 16, Ohio

Please send THE UN-AMERICANS. Enclosed is check or money order for $..............

☐ $ 1 for 1 copy ☐ $5 for 7 copies
☐ $10 for 15 copies ☐ send bulk prices

NAME ....
ADDRESS ....
CITY .... ZONE STATE

the SPECTATOR

The Parondis in Milan

LUCHINO VISCONTI'S film, **Rocco and His Brothers**, at the Pix and Beekman theaters in New York, is a conscious attempt to direct the naturalistic bent of the Italian neo-realists toward what the director believes to be a Marxist point of view. He has stated his position most explicitly in an article published in the January, 1961, issue of the British monthly **Films and Filming**. There he attributes his grasp of the problems of the south of Italy, the place of origin of the characters of **Rocco**, to the writings of the Marxist, Antonio Gramsci, who died in a Mussolini prison. He elaborates: "Gramsci not only convinced me of the acuteness of his historical and political analysis but also explained to me the character of Southern Italy as a great social rupture and as a market for a colonialist type of exploitation by the ruling classes of the North. I saw in the work of Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party, something that was not to be found in other studies of the South's problems: The indication of a realistic, practical solution . . . an alliance between the workers of the North and the peasants of the South, in order to break up the power of the agricultural and capitalist bloc."

VIEWERS OF VISCONTI'S FILM may find it hard to associate this surprisingly "ideological" statement with the passionate doings within the Parondi family, which came to Milan because life had become insupportable in its Calabrian village. The Parondis' ebullient arrival in the big city; the mother Rosaria's quarrel with her prospective in-laws, compounded of maternal jealousy and what she considers a violation of the unwritten laws of hospitality; the quick adjustment to the welfare-housing solution of their homeless state; wonder and delight at snow; the matter-of-fact acceptance of unskilled labor as the peasant's lot—all such supporting elements of the plot are handled with cinematic brilliance, but also with the care for salient detail of the European realist tradition.

RENATO SALVATORI AND ADLAIN DELON AS BROTHERS
The country boys, in a train, gaped at Milan's lights

However, the central situation—Simone's and Rocco's introduction to the boxing world, Simone's seduction by the prostitute Nadia, and Nadia's growing love for the gentler Rocco—culminates in crimes which must be related to age-old regional sexual taboos if they are not to appear like the free-wheeling acts of brutality fashionable in the average commercial film. Simone's rape of Nadia in the presence of the helpless Rocco, followed by the beating of Rocco and the subsequent murder of Nadia, are not only results of Simone's corruption and deterioration. They are also grotesque attempts to apply the morals and taboos of another time and place to the environment of a modern metropolis.

SUCH AT LEAST is the judgment of a younger brother, Ciro, who faces the rage of Rosaria and his family's ostracism because he will not defend the guilty Simone, despite his love for him. His break with the Southern peasant values follows straight upon a scene of mythic frenzy inspired by the discovery of Simone's plight. In the mother's eyes, it is as though Simone's blood were upon Ciro. That is why the reconciliation between Ciro and Rosaria, conveyed by the "messenger," his little brother Luca, carries such weight. It is no accident that Ciro, the only one of the brothers without illusions, should have become a factory worker in a large auto plant. Visconti's intention is clear: To show the impossibility of preserving the old ways of life and to denote the class basis of Ciro's conscience. Only Ciro can tell Luca that the return to the beloved homeland in the South must be earned by men's creating in its fields and villages the conditions of their happiness, and putting an end to the causes of their suffering.

If our attention is diverted from this meaning, the fault is Visconti's. While the choice of Katina Paxinou as Rosaria and Renato Salvatori as Simone is excellent casting, Annie Giradot's Nadia overemphasizes her transformation through her contact with Rocco; her playing is a trifle too sophisticated, as is the curious if intriguing scene in which, abandoned by Rocco, she runs from him in distraction, watched by tourists on the roof of the Milan cathedral. Most incongruous, though, is Alain Delon's Rocco, an over-sensitized performance which touches of Dostoevskian self-abnegation and psychological elements quite foreign to Visconti's expressed purpose.

—**Charles Humboldt**

NEWSPAPER